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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE GERMAN DRAMA ON THE
ST. LOUIS STAGE

BY

ALFRED HENRY NOLLE

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

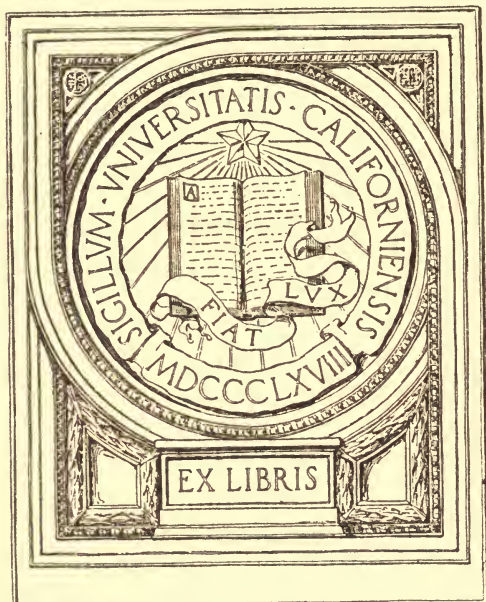
Americana Germanica

NUMBER 32

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MONOGRAPHS DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE

Literary, Linguistic and Other Cultural Relations
OF
Germany and America

EDITOR
MARION DEXTER LEARNED
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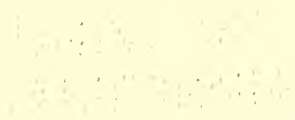
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Alfred H. Nolle.

Columbia, Missouri, July 7, 1917.

THE GERMAN DRAMA ON THE ST. LOUIS STAGE.

PREFACE.

This account of the German drama on the St. Louis stage is intended to form a contribution to the history of Americana Germanica. It is based essentially on material gathered at first hand from the files of the German newspapers published in St. Louis contemporaneous with the stage in the various phases of its existence. For the period 1835-1898 the *Anzeiger des Westens* was used as the primary source; from 1890-1914, the *Westliche Post* and its Sunday edition, the *Mississippi Blätter*. These were supplemented by other contemporaneous German and English papers of St. Louis and in several instances by the *Deutsche Pionier* of Cincinnati and the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. The files of the newspapers are in most instances complete. They present gaps from October 21, 1838, to October 29, 1841; October 11, 1843, to October 18, 1844; October 23, 1848, to October 20, 1849; October 20, 1851, to April 19, 1852; October 20, 1852, to April 18, 1853; April 21 to October 19, 1860; October 20, 1861, to April 22, 1862; October 21, 1862, to July 20, 1863, and in several isolated instances individual issues are missing. The narrative history of the stage for the periods represented in these gaps has been gleaned from other sources, but statistical material as to the repertories for the period cannot be collected. If records for the period represented by the several gaps are extant, diligent search has failed to locate them. They are not to be found in the several libraries in and about St. Louis, including the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri, and the excellent German library in Belleville, Illinois, nor in the Library of Congress.

Heinrich Börnstein in his memoirs¹ treats in some detail the period of his activity on the St. Louis stage and to a certain

¹ *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der alten und neuen Welt, Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden*. Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1881.

² *St. Louis in früheren Jahren. Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschtum*. St. Louis: A. Wiebusch und Sohn Printing Company, 1893.

extent the period preceding his activity. E. D. Kargau in his *St. Louis in früheren Jahren*² devotes fifteen pages to a sketch of the German stage prior to 1893. At the time of the opening of the Germania Theater the souvenir programs for the initial performance contained a brief account of the stage, which was substantially reprinted in the *St. Louis Tribune* for September 1, 1892. The *Anzeiger des Westens* for July 12, 1897, reprinted that part of an address on "Die deutsche Bühne in Amerika," which dealt with the St. Louis stage, made by Ferdinand Welb before the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer Lehrerbund" convened in Milwaukee. This account, as Welb professed, is taken almost verbally from Börnstein's Memoirs. Subsequently the *Mississippi Blätter* for July 2, 1899, and March 14, 1909, printed historical sketches of the German stage in St. Louis. These, the last of which was compiled by Welb, are based upon Börnstein's Memoirs and Kargau's account, supplemented by a brief account of the occurrences postdating the appearance of Kargau's book. They are popular articles full of inaccuracies. They give no idea as to what was actually performed on the stage. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* for October 5 and 12, 1902, contains an account of "Die deutsche Bühne im Westen," by Carl Pletz, which takes into account the St. Louis stage, but, necessarily, considering the wide field the article covers, in very brief compass. Of these several accounts of the stage only one, the Memoirs of Börnstein, was a real help; the others were suggestive and helpful in outlining the history of the stage, but, due to their inaccurate or sketchy nature, had to be used with caution.

All values are in the last analysis relative values. To gain a conception of the literary value of the St. Louis stage during the various phases of its existence, its history has, therefore, been divided into five periods. On the basis of these a statistical survey of the literary complexion of the several stages has been made. The statistical material on which such estimates are based is added in the *Appendix*. The division of the history of the stage as a basis for establishing comparative values is not, however, an arbitrary division. The divisions represent natural and logical periods in its development.

I. 1842-1859.

THE BEGINNINGS.

The first German theatre in St. Louis dates from the year 1842. In the summer of 1842 Rudolf Riese, an actor of ability, originally from Berlin, in the course of a variegated existence, became stranded in St. Louis. A number of young Germans, on becoming acquainted with the man and his plight, sympathized with him in his embarrassment. Money these for the most part poor clerks and business apprentices did not have to offer the stranded actor. But out of a desire to aid him they encouraged him to arrange a series of theatrical performances for his benefit. To this end they offered their assistance as dilettantes. The result was the first performance of a German drama in St. Louis.³ For a record of this first performance we are indebted to the facile pen of Heinrich Börnstein.

“Die jungen Leute gingen zu einem deutschen Wirte, dessen Gasthaus an der dritten Strasse zwischen Pine und Olive den Schild: ‘Zum Bremer Schlüssel’ trug, und mieteten dessen oberes Lokal, einen langen Saal, der als Speisezimmer bei Hochzeiten oder anderen festlichen Gelegenheiten benutzt wurde;—aus Zimmermannsböcken und Brettern wurde eine Noth-Bühne improvosirt, und so weit diese reichte, wurden die weissgetünchten Wände des Saales von einem Zimmermaler zu einem Walde umgepinselt—für die Scenen, die im Zimmer spielten, wurden billige Tapeten zu Coulissen und einer Hinterwand zusammengeklebt und der Vorhang bestand aus zwei zusammenge nähten Bettdecken;—ein paar Holzstühle und ein Tisch bildeten das Ameublement der Zimmer-Dekoration. Mit diesen Dekorationen

³ Historically authenticated interest in the German drama on the St. Louis stage dates from the year 1838. “Am 21, September ’38 trat der erste Schauspieler in St. Louis, Icks (vom Königsstädter-Theater in Berlin), auf und declamirte während der Zwischenacte den Monolog aus ‘Wallenstein’s Tod.’ Da noch kein deutsches Theater existirte, so fand dieses Ereigniss auf den Brettern des alten St. Louis Theaters (amerikanisch) statt und scheint von Erfolg gekrönt gewesen zu sein; wenigstens trat der Künstler noch an verschiedenen Abenden auf.”—*Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1871), III. 275.—The innovation had, however, no immediate consequences in introducing German drama permanently on the St. Louis stage.

wurden als erste Vorstellung Schiller's 'Räuber' aufgeführt; —den Thurm, in welchem der alte Moor gefangen sitzt, hatte der kunstsinnige Zimmermaler so täuschend hergestellt, dass er aussah wie ein riesiger Gughupf;—da kein Lehnstuhl für den alten Moor aufzutreiben war, so wurde eine alte Waarenkiste genommen und eine Wand derselben bis zur Sitzhöhle herausgesägt, die dadurch gewonnenen Brettchen dann als Sitz auf Leisten genagelt, das ganze mit einem Bettuche überzogen und der Lehnstuhl des alten Grafen war fertig. Hatte sich nun irgend ein Muthwilliger den Spass gemacht, oder was es Zufall, genug, ein Zipfel des Bettuches hatte sich in den Strick des Vorhangs verschlungen,—die Vorstellung ging los, die vier Mann im Orchester hatten eine Ouverture heruntergestrichen, der Souffleur gab das Glockenzeichen und der Vorhang rollte in die Höhe. Aber mit ihm ging zugleich das Bettuch hinauf, der Lehnstuhl, in dem der alte Moor sass, wurde dadurch rücklings umgeworfen und ein heilloses Gelächter begrüßte diesen tragi-komischen Anfang. Der Vorhang musste unter stürmischer Heiterkeit wieder heruntergelassen werden und erst als Alles auf der Bühne wieder in Ordnung war, nahm die Vorstellung ihren Verlauf;—da keine Schauspielerin aufzutreiben gewesen war, so wurde die 'Amalie' ganz herausgestriken; es wurde nur von ihr gesprochen, aber sehen bekam man sie nicht. Die Räuber-Statisten, lauter junge Volontärs, waren viel zahlreicher als die Darsteller, sie hatten alle ihre Revolver und Jagdgewehre mitgebracht und bei der Räuberscene im dritten Akt wurde so furchtbar drin geschossen, dass der ganze Saal dick mit Pulverdampf angefüllt war und ein undurchdringlicher Nebel herrschte, durch welchen die Talg-Lichter der Beleuchtung wie rothe Pünktchen schimmerten. Den fünften Akt wollte aber Riese nicht spielen, wenn er nicht eine Amalie, wenigstens zum Todstechen, habe; endlich musste die Köchin des Wirths ein weisses Kleid anziehen, sich die Haare auflösen und in den dichten Pulvernebel auf Riese zustürzen, worauf dieser mit den betreffenden Worten seiner Rolle sie erstach und als die arme Köchin nicht gleich umfiel, sie mit der Faust niederschlug. Von den letzten Akten hatte man des Rauchs wegen fast nichts mehr gesehen und auch, da das ganze Publikum fürchterlich hustete, wenig gehört; am Schlusse jedoch wurden alle Mitwirkenden mehreremale stürmisch gerufen,

worauf die ganze Einnahme unten in der Wirthsstube verkneipt wurde. Die Zeitungen jener Zeit haben uns die Namen jener Männer aufbewahrt, die damals die erste deutsche Theatervorstellung in St. Louis ermöglichten,—den ‘Karl Moor’ spielte Riese; den ‘Franz’ John D. Hill, ein bekannter Holzhändler; ‘den alten Moor’ Heinrich Fischer;—Hippo Krug, später einer der populärsten Wirthe der Stadt, spielte den ‘Schweizer’ und den ‘Hermann’ dazu; Georg Bressler von Belleville den ‘Schufterle’ und Block, von der späteren sehr geachteten Firma Block und Evers den ‘Spiegelberg.’—Die Vorstellung, die im vollsten Sinne des Wortes Sensation machte, musste nicht nur in St. Louis wiederholt werden, sondern der Ruf derselben war auch nach dem benachbarten Belleville gedrungen und Riese wurde eingeladen, mit seiner Gesellschaft hinüber zu kommen und die ‘Räuber’ aufzuführen. So wurden denn die ‘Räuber’ mit derselben Besetzung auch in Belleville aufgeführt, und da kein Orchester aufzutreiben war, so zog Hippo Krug, wenn er auf der Bühne seinen ‘Schweizer’ und ‘Hermann’ verarbeitet hatte, einen Domino über sein Costüme, lief ins Publikum, wo vor der Bühne ein Klavier stand, und spielte darauf die Zwischenakts-Musik, wobei ein Herr Ochs mit Es-Clarinetten und ein Herr Daun mit der Violine ihn accompagnirten. Nach der Vorstellung wurde wieder die Nacht hindurch die Einnahme verkneipt und als es Tag wurde, hatte keiner der Darsteller auch nur einen Heller, um nach St. Louis zurückfahren zu können;—da erbarmte sich ihrer der Bierbrauer Gottfried Busch, liess seinen grossen Bierwagen anspannen, lud die ganze Gesellschaft hinauf und führte sie unentgeltlich nach St. Louis zurück.”⁴

Encouraged by the success of his venture, Riese, who, in the newspaper advertisements announcing his performances, styled himself “früherer Direktor der deutschen Oper zu Philadelphia und Direktor des deutschen Theaters in New Orleans,” announced a series of performances under his directorship in “Rankens Lokal,” at irregular intervals dating from July 2 to October 29, 1842. The exact date of the memorable *Räuber* performance is not recorded. The programs of these half dozen performances,

⁴ *Memoiren* II, 240 ff.

including the initial *Räuber* performance, were made up of the following plays: *Die Räuber* und *Der Eckensteher Nante im Verhör* each three times, *Die Braut* and *Die Himmelfahrt eines Säufers* twice each, and *Der Nachtwächter* and *Die Seelenwanderung* once each. These plays were announced anonymously. Usually two or three of the shorter plays were given at one performance, as was regularly the custom followed in the numerous Volkstheater, which made their appearance a decade and a half later, and in the Liebhabertheater, which occupied the intervening period.

The theatre established by Riese ⁶ was short-lived. It could lay little claim to artistic or dramaturgical excellency. But it deserves recognition because it was epoch-making in the cultural history of the German element of St. Louis. From it may be traced the history of the institution, which, thru the vicissitudes of more than seven decades, has without serious interruption, but with varying degrees of fortune continued to the present day to fulfill a cultural mission.

The period in the history of the German stage in St. Louis beginning with Riese's venture in 1842 till the establishment of the St. Louis Opernhaus, the first permanent theatre, in 1859, constitutes *the period of the beginnings*. Attempts to establish a German theatre on a professional basis during the period proved ineffectual and short-lived. German theatricals during the greater part of this period rested in the hands of amateur or semi-professional organizations, in which one or several professional actors usually formed the nucleus, around which a group of dilettantes concentrated their efforts. The number of dilettantes who in the midst of their work-a-day activities could find leisure to study rôles and take part in theatricals was not a large one, yet among the young men of that day there was a sufficient number of adequate talent to meet the requirements of a Liebhabertheater, who

⁶ Riese imposed upon his St. Louis friends to such an extent that they were glad to rid themselves of him. They collected money with which to send him to Philadelphia where he was engaged as baritone in an Italian opera company. Under the name of Benedetti he sang in Italian opera for several years in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities, until he lost his voice. He died in 1859 in the Poor House on Blackwells Island, New York.

showed willingness to take part. In consequence it was always possible for a professional actor or director coming to the city to find ample support to enable him to engage in his profession.

Of the Liebhabertheater to follow in the wake of Riese's venture the first to be organized was opened September 16, 1843, under the directorate of Christian and Louise Thielemann. Thielemann and his wife were both experienced actors. Mme. Thielemann (Louise Ehlers), prior to her marriage, had been engaged at the royal theatre in Kassel. Both had played in New York and New Orleans. They subsequently became theatre directors in Chicago. The principal amateurs coöperating with them were Christian Kribben, a well-known lawyer; his brother Wilhelm, a Mississippi River pilot; Benkendorf, a journalist; Herman Aschenbach, Julius Büchel, A. U. Ross (Post-Ross), Henry Lischer, Wilhelm Mackwitz, Hippo Krug, and Georg Reichard and wife. The Thielemanns played with this organization for three successive winter seasons, with occasional performances in the summer of 1845. The directorship of the society, with the second season, however, passed into the hands of John D. Hill, a dilettante who had played under Riese. The season 1845-1846 closed May 11. A season of post-season performances followed, for charitable purposes, at irregular intervals, ending December 12, 1846. Performances during the three years of the existence of this Liebhabertheater had been bi-weekly. During the first season of its existence performances were held "im Salon der Hrn. Angelbeck und Linkemeier," at Third and Walnut Streets; during the last two seasons in the Vaudeville Theatre at 24 North Main Street. The price of admission was fifty cents for single performances, one dollar and fifty cents for six performances by subscription.

Following the last of these performances there was a lull in German theatricals for more than a year, until this same group of amateurs reorganized December 7, 1847, under the presidency of Adolph Abels, into the Thalia Gesellschaft. The purpose of the new society was not only to institute amateur theatrical performances, but also to arrange balls and other social gatherings for the benefit of its members and friends. Its theatrical per-

formances differed from those of the Liebhabertheater which had preceded it in that only amateurs were to take part and that only members of the society and their friends were to be admitted to the performances, tho exception was made to the latter rule on evenings especially set aside for the entertainment of the public. The Kribben brothers continued to be the spirit and soul of the new organization. It opened its first season January 5, 1848, in a building at the corner of Main and Pine Streets. Performances were usually given weekly on Wednesday evenings. The price of admission for non-members varied between twenty-five and fifty cents.

With the second year of its existence the Thalia Gesellschaft was reorganized as the St. Louis Sängerbund. With the reorganization of the society debates and declamatory exercises became its chief activity, to the exclusion of German theatricals, for several years to follow.

In the spring of 1851 Xaver Strasser, accompanied by his wife, two daughters and stepson, all actors by profession, came to St. Louis. Supported by local amateurs, among whom Adalbert Löhr especially distinguished himself, Strasser on the 7th of April opened a Liebhabertheater in the "Tontine," on Second Street near Elm. After several performances there he built and moved into a summer theatre in what was then Arsenal Park. Strasser proved a failure as a director. His theatre in the "Tontine" had promised well. But his summer theatre—"eine grosse dunkle, nur mit wenigen Luftlöchern versehene Bretterbude"—proved a fiasco from the start. It came to an abrupt close August 24, whereupon the Strasser family at once left the city.

Strasser's ill-fated attempt as director was followed by another lull which lasted until the dramatic talent of the St. Louis Sängerbund again became active. From February till May, 1852, the Sängerbund gave biweekly performances in the old Washington Hall. From December, 1852, till the spring of 1853 it performed occasionally in the Varieties Theatre, in the People's Theatre and in the Bates Theatre.

In 1850 there was called to editorial leadership of the *Anzeiger des Westens* a man who more than any other one man

of his day was instrumental in the cultural and educational uplift of the German element of St. Louis. "Bildung ist Macht" was his watchword. He was instrumental in organizing the Freie-Männer-Verein which established German schools for boys, and evening and Sunday classes for grown people. In connection with Franz Schmidt he established a school for girls. He lectured extensively on a variety of topics and even taught, for a time, in the girls' school he had helped to establish. Thru the *feuilleton* columns of the *Anzeiger*, of which he became sole proprietor in May, 1851, and thru his aggressive and somewhat sensational policy made the most widely circulating German newspaper in the West, especially in the Sunday edition, the *Westliche Blätter*, and thru the publication in book form of a library of German *belles lettres* he disseminated much wholesome literature among his fellow-countrymen. This man, Dr. Heinrich Börnstein,⁶ had come to America with a varied and rich experience, not only as a journalist, but more especially as an actor and impressario and playwright. In the course of his long and busy life of four score and seven years his varied career launched him into diverse fields of activity, but the lure of the stage constantly attracted him in one capacity or the other. His old friend and journalistic colleague, Emil Klauprecht, writing his necrolog from Vienna, says of him, "Wer Börnstein's Charakter, seine Naturanlagen, geistige Eigenschaften und Temperament mit einem Wort bezeichnen soll, wird ihn ein Theaterkind in der vollsten Bedeutung des

⁶Börnstein, whose father, prior to his marriage, had been a successful actor, was born in Hamburg, November 4, 1805. At the age of ten he was taken to Lemberg, in Austrian Poland. After having studied for a year at the University of Lemberg he, in 1821, entered the Austrian army, in which he served for five years. In 1826 he studied medicine in Vienna, and at the same time did editorial work for Carl Eduard Reinold. From 1826-1827 he worked for Bäuerle on the "Theaterzeitung." From 1827-1828 he was secretary of the combined Josephstadt Theater and the Theater an der Wien, under Carl. For several years following he served as stage manager in several of the leading cities of Germany and Italy. In 1841, with his wife, whom he married in 1829, he performed with success in star engagements in the leading German cities. The following year he went to Paris, where he became manager first of the German Opera, later of the Italian Opera. During the revolutionary days of 1848 he was engaged in journalistic and literary pursuits in Paris. With the return of Bonaparte to power as dictator, Börnstein, the enthusiastic advocate of political freedom, early in 1849 emigrated to America. After a short stay in Highlands, Illinois, where he did efficient service as physician during an epidemic of cholera, he accepted the editorship of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, March 8, 1850.

Wortes nennen. Bis zum Ende ist er ein solches geblieben, es lag in seinem Blute, seiner Erziehung und den Umgebungen seiner Jugend." ⁷ Börnstein believed in the stage as a great cultural and educational and moral force. He writes in his *Memoiren*, "Die beste Schule der Erwachsenen, die wahre Bildung für das Volk, bietet immer die Schaubühne und Wahrheiten, die in Büchern nur zur Kenntniss von Wenigen gelangen, dringen von dem Podium des Theaters aus, schnell und tief in die Massen und fassen feste Wurzeln. Die beste Schule des Volkes ist und bleibt eine gute Bühne und die Aufführung von Lessings 'Nathan der Weise,' von Schillers 'Don Carlos,' von Goethes 'Faust' und 'Egmont' verbreitet mehr geniale Ideen und hebt und veredelt die Massen mehr als alle Bücher- und Katheder-Weisheit und alle Kanzelberedsamkeit." ⁸ He had early entertained the desire of giving to St. Louis a German stage that should take rank with the best in Germany, but wisely realized the necessity of making a small beginning and gradually working up to the desired goal. "Es war mein heissester Wunsch, in St. Louis ein deutsches Theater zu gründen, aber die . . . Schwierigkeiten, besonders der Mangel an guten deutschen Schauspielern stellten meinen Wünschen unübersteigliche Hindernisse entgegen;—ja es mussten noch viele Jahre vergehen, ehe ich an die Realisirung eines wirklichen stabilen deutschen Theaters denken konnte. Das Höchste, das im damaligen Augenblicke erreichbar war, waren demnach Dilettanten-Vorstellungen; aber bessere, sorgfältiger vorbereitete und künstlerischer geleitete Dilettanten-Vorstellungen, als man bisher zu sehen gewohnt gewesen war." ⁹

To the end he had in view Börnstein in 1853 organized the Philodramatische Gesellschaft. He found for his purpose among his friends and acquaintances a number who showed promise, with proper training, of developing into good actors, who enthusiastically embraced his cause and volunteered their services. What they lacked in innate histrionic ability had to be made up by diligence and enthusiasm. At first Börnstein himself and his

⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 9, 1892.

⁸ Op. cit., II, 222.

⁹ Op. cit., II, 223.

talented wife had to bear the burden of work in the new organization. Börnstein acted as stage manager and acted in the rôles of bon vivant and comic character. Under stress of necessity it even became necessary for him in several instances to depart from his accustomed line to play the part of fool or jeune premier. Mme. Börnstein—Marie Stelzer, in her youth a danseuse trained under the eye of the French ballet master, Beauval—performed with much success as soubrette of the organization. The first season offered difficulties to the stage manager. To adequately fill the rôle of leading lady (Salon-Liebhaberin) presented a problem. Volunteers were not lacking. But none in the environment of the unsophisticated new world had had opportunity to acquire the necessary acquaintance with the life which they were supposed to interpret. The male contingent of the organization were willing workers, but the busy life of a growing Western metropolis did not always afford the necessary leisure for memorizing the parts assigned them with the precision demanded by an exacting stage manager. But the really capable dilettantes under the professional guidance of Börnstein and his wife gained in attainment from performance to performance. The second season brought the acquisition of a very valuable asset in a young Austrian physician, Rudolf Gussmann, who had emigrated to America on account of political banishment from his native country. Gussmann possessed marked histrionic talent and literary ability. He for this season assumed the rôle of leading gentleman (Salon-Liebhaber) which Börnstein had found difficult to fill to his satisfaction. The second season also profited by the acquisition of two professional actors who had become stranded in St. Louis, Carl Stein, a character actor of repute, and his talented wife, who later became directress of the German Theatre in San Francisco.¹⁰

¹⁰ Those recorded as taking part in the performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft in addition to those mentioned above were: Messrs. Albert, Aschenbach, Assmann, A. S. Börnstein, Büchel, Gayer, Gensis, Ferdinand Klünder, Christian Kribben, Leonhard, Lischer, Müller, Nebel, Preytner, Schmidt, Hermann Schröder, Stierlin, Thomas, Warnecke, Wild; Mmes. Charton, Frimmel, Koser, Kröger, Müller, Novaak, Schiller, Schlesiger, Schröder; child parts—Carl Börnstein, Kl. Fuchs, Georg Hoffmann, Kl. Meckel.

The efforts of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft met with an enthusiastic and appreciative response on the part of the German public from the start. On the opening evening of the first season two plays from the pen of Börnstein were presented in the Varieties-Theatre, located on Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, one of the largest theatres in the city, before an audience which crowded the house. The first of these plays, a five-act *Lustspiel*, *Betrogene Betrüger*, was later performed with distinct success more than twenty times in Vienna and became a favorite in the repertory of many stages in Germany; the second, a "Lebensbild aus dem Deutsch-Amerikanertum" entitled *Deutsche Einwanderung und deutsche Gesellschaft*, became part of the repertory of practically every German dilettante stage in the United States at that time. This initial success augured well for the future of the organization. It played weekly for four winter seasons with growing artistic success. Houses were reported good, even in bad weather. During the winter of 1854-1855 the organization suffered competition at the hands of a company managed by Benrodt, which the latter recruited largely from the ranks of a company to which he had belonged, which had been brought to St. Louis from Louisville in the summer of 1854 by Julius Bötzwow for a series of performances beginning July 3. The keen rivalry that existed made the Philodramatische Gesellschaft more determined to put forth their efforts. In consequence a professional stage attempting to play three times per week, entailing the expenses of salaried players, after a short-lived season beginning November 20, had to succumb by the middle of February to the superior performances of their competitors, whose popularity made it possible for them to utilize the larger Bates Theatre after Benrodt had got possession of the Varieties. It spelled failure for Benrodt to attempt to stage plays beyond the possibilities of his limited ensemble. What he lacked in quality he attempted to make up by use of the sensational. His advertisements for Goethe's *Faust*, for example, contained the comment, "Zum Schlusse des Stückes Fausts Höllenfahrt! Erster Tableau mit Brillant Feuerwerk!" The *Anzeiger des Westens*, Börnstein's paper, echoes the rivalry between the two stages. In

a review of a performance of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft that is typical it says:

“Es ist interessant und für die Darsteller anregend, vor einem solchen gebildeten, empfänglichen und kunstsinnigen Publikum zu spielen, und die stets gedrängt vollen Häuser bei der Aufführung einfacher Lust und Schauspiele stehen im erfreulichen Contrast zu jenem Treiben, wo mit ellenlangen Zetteln und Trommlern und Trompeten und Geigern und Pfeifern auf den Ankündigungen, Göthes und Schillers Meisterwerke zusammengestrichen, verstümmelt und verhunzt von anderthalb Schauspielern und einem Dutzend Statisten vor leeren Bänken herabgeleiert werden. Der Kuntsinn des hiesigen deutschen Publikums hat sich abermals glänzend bewährt, es hat bewiesen, dass es sich keinen Sand in die Augen streuen und sich nicht durch grosse Annoncen und atemlose Puffs verblüffen lässt, sondern richtiger Weise eine gerundete, naturgetreue und von einem lebendigen Geiste durchwehte Darstellung eines guten Lust — oder Schauspieles einer ‘Höllenfahrt mit Brillant-Feuerwerk’ oder irgend einen ‘grossen Banditen’ vorzieht. Wir kennen unser deutsches Publikum hier und sind stolz darauf und eben darum auch nur laden wir uns alle die Mühen und Plagen, die Opfer und Anstrengungen auf, die die Organisation und Aufrechthaltung einer Dilettanten-Bühne unabweisslich mit sich bringt.”¹¹

The Philodramatische Gesellschaft during the first three seasons of its activity donated the net proceeds of its performances to charitable purposes. Its announcement states: “Das Privat-Interesse hat mit diesen Vorstellungen gar nichts zu thun, —im Gegenteile müssen alle Darsteller, mit Vernachlässigung ihrer eigenen Geschäfte, Opfer an Zeit, Mühe und selbst Geld bringen;—aber sie thun es gern, weil es dem doppelten Zwecke gilt; den Geschmack und Sinn für deutsche Kunst hier zu heben und gute und nützliche Anstalten befördern zu können.”¹² The Deutsche Einwanderungsgesellschaft, the Deutsche Frauenverein—organizations designed chiefly to aid newly arrived immigrants—the Freie Gemeinde in New Bremen, the German Orphan

¹¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, February 22, 1855.

¹² *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 15, 1854.

Home and similar institutions were the chief beneficiaries. With the fourth season the plans of the organization and consequently the financial obligations of the members became more pretentious. It therefore avowedly became a professional organization, announcing that henceforth the proceeds of the performances would be divided among the performers on a pro rata basis according to degree of service rendered. For the organization was at no time to become a private enterprise, but to be conducted on a republican basis.

With the termination of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft the Liebhabertheater may be said to have played their rôle in the history of the German stage in St. Louis. During the winter of 1857-1858 the St. Louis Turn Verein gave regular Sunday performances. During subsequent seasons the newspapers continue to announce performances by one or the other Turn Verein or other organization. But such performances in time became more and more occasional. They did not always please the directors of the regular professional German stage, for they kept away from the regular theatre many who would otherwise have attended. As late as 1909 one of the directors of the professional stage took occasion in a brief historical sketch of the German stage in St. Louis, submitted to the *Mississippi Blätter* (March 14, 1909) to lodge such a complaint, saying, "An Liebhabertheatern war nämlich auch in den sechziger Jahren ebensowenig ein Mangel, wie in dem jüngsten Jahrzehnt, in welchem sie als Anhängsel von Gesang- und Turnvereinen den jeweiligen Theater-Unternehmern bald grösseren, bald geringeren pekuniären Schaden zugefügt haben."

The first attempt to establish a German theatre after the cessation of activities by the Philodramatische Gesellschaft was made by Ed. Herrmann. October 28, 1856, he instituted a German stage in the Varieties Theatre. Herrmann mysteriously disappeared after the second performance, whereupon Robert A. Wolff reopened the theatre November 30. His company included six former members of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft—Assmann, Klünder, Schmidt, Stierlin, Mme. Koser und Mme. Novack. Other members of the company were Dardenne (a

comedian, formerly director of the Stadttheater in Augsburg), Düringer and Fredeking (from the Volkstheater in Chicago), Bernhard Meissner, Steinberg (from New Orleans), Mmes. Marie Dardenne, Meissner and Maria Wolff. Wolff played with varying fortune till March 8, when he gave up the directorship. The company then played under direction of a committee appointed from its members until April 13. During the latter period Carl Stein and Lola Montez played with the company in starring parts, the former as Shylock in a performance of *The Merchant of Venice*, the latter in four performances of *Lola Montez in Bayern*. The non-success of the season was due chiefly to an attempt to perform three times weekly in plays beyond the capacity of a limited ensemble. Wolff made efforts to fill the gaps in the ranks of his company. But the country offered no supply of available actors from which to recruit them.

The performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft had served the purpose they had been designed to attain—namely, to awaken an interest in the German theatre. But thru lack of a director who would live up to standards artistically sufficiently exacting to immediately follow up the work of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, the Volkstheater soon usurped the field. The interest in German theatricals which had been aroused was soon capitalized by the proprietors of summer gardens and beer halls. The first of these Volkstheater to follow in the wake of the activities of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft was opened in Ruedi's Volksgarten, on Second Street between Mulberry and Lombard Streets, on Sunday, August 2, 1857. During the winter of 1857-1858 Ferdinand Klünder attempted to rehabilitate the German stage in the Varieties Theatre. Klünder's company contained good material. In its ranks were included Robert Gilbert (villain and character rôles, from the Stadttheater in Philadelphia), Anton Föllger, Bötzwow, Louis Pelosi, Carl Worrett (stage director, from Chicago), Assman and Stierlin (formerly of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft) and Mmes. Bötzwow, Meissner and Maria Pelosi. During the first part of the season Kronfeld, from the Hoftheater in Darmstadt, and during February Schunck and his wife, of the Deutsches Theater in Cincinnati, performed

with the company in starring parts. Mme. Börnstein appeared with the company from time to time. She played without compensation, solely in the interest of art. But Klünder's venture, due to various causes, was not a success. Occasionally the performances, especially those given with the aid of the visiting players, reached a plane which won words of commendation from the pen of the critic. Lack of coöperation on the part of the players, however, and the attendant insufficient rehearsals—the critic oftentimes had occasion to find fault on the score of poorly memorized or poorly interpreted parts—caused the performances in many instances to suffer by comparison with those of the Philo-dramatische Gesellschaft, to which the newspapers constantly refer as the high-water mark in German theatricals in the city up to that time. Klünder's stage therefore did not attract the patronage of those who could afford a good theatre. Moreover, the season was one of financial depression generally. "Shinplaster" was accepted far below par. The great mass of the people flocked to the inexpensive Volkstheater, where the price of admission was usually advertised as "10 cents, wofür ein Glass Bier verabreicht wird," or where admission was free as an inducement to the public to come spend their money with the proprietor of the beer hall or garden with which the stage was connected, and where a dance usually followed the performance. During the summer of 1857 and the ensuing winter, in competition to Klünder's enterprise, the theatre in Ruedi's Volksgarten usually played three times weekly. The level of performances of the Volkstheater which the economic situation of the people had helped make popular soon shaped popular taste and created a demand for such performances. During the summer of 1858 the theatre in Ruedi's Volksgarten played daily, and three other German stages—the Deutsches National Theater, established in Flora Garten, on South Seventh Street, May 22, by Gilbert and Schunck, the one in the Tyroler Halle, at 2 Carondelet Avenue, and the St. Georges Theater, on DeKalb Street between Barton and Victor—less frequently, the first two usually three times per week, the latter on Sundays. During the winter of 1858-1859 the Volkstheater brought the number of German stages in St. Louis up to eight.

Of these one, representing an attempt by Jules Bonent to establish a first-class stage in the Varieties Theatre, with prices at fifty, thirty-five and fifteen cents, proved short-lived. Of the Volkstheater those in Ruedi's Volksgarten, in Flora Garten, and in the St. Louis Stadt Theater (formerly Bechner's Varieties), on Fifth Street between Morgan Street and Franklin Avenue, usually announced daily performances. The others advertised irregularly or not at all, but usually played several times weekly or daily. The theatre in Flora Garten, admission to which was usually twenty-five cents, was the only one which received occasional recognition from the newspapers outside the advertising columns. A contributor to the *Anzeiger des Westens* for December 24, 1858, appraises it as ranking first among the eight stages playing at that time. During the summer of 1859 the number of German theatres in St. Louis reached fifteen. Most of these were ephemeral. Changes in management and personnel were frequent in all. Notice of them disappears entirely with the establishment of the first permanent German theatre in St. Louis, in September, 1859, with the exception of a series of performances in Flora Garten from November 21, 1860, to March 31, 1861, under the management of Emil Höchster and O. Schadt.¹³ The theatres in Ruedi's Volksgarten and in Flora Garten, and the one conducted by Alexander Pfeiffer in Apollo Garten, on Fourth Street between Poplar and Plum, from May 23 to September 5, 1859, were resuscitated after the disturbances attending the Civil War had terminated the permanent German theatre established in September, 1859, but only the Apollo Garten Theater was destined to flourish. It played winter and summer with but slight interruption under frequent change of management thru the winter season 1890-1891.

If we stop to view in perspective the development of the stage during this period of the beginnings, the performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, from the standpoint of dramatur-

¹³ The Flora Garten ensemble for this season consisted of Messrs. Schöne, Mähl, Hafner, Beckier, Werber, Petersen, Weber, Seifert, Eugen; Mmes. Schadt-Meaubert, Taraskiewicz, Mühl; Mlle. Weber, and Lina Burgk (child parts).

gical excellency, stand out as the high-water mark. The Philodramatische Gesellschaft wisely limited its efforts to the class of plays commensurate with the capacity of its ensemble. Under the guidance of Börnstein, a man of indefatigable energy, who in business circles had the reputation of getting the maximum of work out of his employees,¹⁴ the performances of the society gained unstinted praise in press reports. Most of the comment on the stage of this period must be gleaned from the columns of Börnstein's paper. Its relative validity is in a measure attested, however, by the fact that subsequent critics oftentimes take the performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft as the basis for comparative judgment in estimating later performances. Other stages statistically show a larger per cent of plays of literary worth presented, but such plays were usually given with limited ensemble, or by amateurs who lacked the guidance of the experienced artist. Press comment upon the plays of the Liebhabertheater preceding the activity of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft was usually favorable, but it was avowedly so "mit Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse."¹⁵

II. 1859-1861.

THE ST. LOUIS OPERNHaus.

When Börnstein, due to the pressure of business activities which demanded his time and attention, relinquished his interest

¹⁴ Cf. William Hyde, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York, Louisville, St. Louis: The Southern History Co., 1899), I, 44.

¹⁵ A statistical survey of the plays produced on the several stages during the various periods in the history of the German drama on the St. Louis stage will indicate the relative character and literary value of the several stages. For comparative purposes the statistical survey of the several stages for the period of the beginnings and for subsequent periods is arranged in tabulated form in the appendix following the narrative portion of this work. For the period of the beginnings the repertoires of the various amateur theatres, including the Turnverein performances, are included in the statistical survey; for the period after 1850, only performances on the several professional stages. Opera performances are included where they form a part of the repertory of a regular German stage.

in the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, he announced that it was his intention to relinquish permanently his professional interest in the stage. But opportunity needed but present itself to induce the actor and impressario of eighteen years' experience on the European stage to change his mind. The Varieties Theatre property had not been a paying investment to its owners. It was accordingly sold at a bargain to two public-spirited citizens of St. Louis, Captain Eads and Mr. Dickson, whose purpose it was not to make money out of the new investment, but to save the property to St. Louis for the purpose for which it had been built. They had the building renovated and approached Börnstein with the proposal to take over the management thereof. Börnstein acquiesced. He placed the editorial columns of his paper in the hands of his friend, Dr. Charles L. Bernays, an experienced journalist who had emigrated to America with him, and the management of the technical details of the paper in the hands of his eldest son. He was thus enabled to devote the major part of his time to the new venture, which, tho destined to be short-lived, was to give St. Louis the best permanent theatre it had yet had, and after its suspension, was to have for some years to follow. The St. Louis Opernhaus represents the first *Blütezeit* of German theatricals in St. Louis.

Börnstein announced his aims and intentions with reference to the new undertaking in a series of articles in the columns of his paper. They are contained essentially in an excerpt from the first of them:

“Es ist uns dabei vor Allem darum zu thun, den richtigen Standpunkt festzustellen, den eine deutsche Bühne in St. Louis einnehmen kann und soll und zugleich das Verhältniss dieser Bühne zum Publicum und umgekehrt, näher zu beleuchten. Wir wollen hier nicht in die vielbesprochene Frage eingehen, ob die Bühne eine Notwendigkeit für den Bildungsgang und das gesellige Leben eines Volkes sei, wir wollen hier nicht den Einfluss derselben auf Pflege und Entwicklung der nationalen Literatur und Kunst hervorheben, wir wollen uns einfach mit der praktischen Frage beschäftigen: ‘Ist ein deutsches Theater in St. Louis ein

Bedürfniss und kann es daher bestehen?' Die eigentliche Lösung dieser Frage kann nur durch ein Experiment, durch die Erfahrung gebracht werden und wir können nur von anderen, namentlich von europäischen, Theater-Verhältnissen, ziemlich unsichere Schlüsse ziehen. In Deutschland hat eine Stadt, die 12-15,000 Einwohner zählt, ein Theater, das über der Mittelmässigkeit steht und Städte von 30-50,000 Einwohnern haben eine gute, stabile Bühne mit Oper and Schauspiel. St. Louis hat eine deutsche Bevölkerung von 60,000 Köpfen, und diese Bevölkerung ist durchschnittlich wohlhabender und zugleich lebenslustiger, als die gleiche Bevölkerungszahl irgend einer grossen Stadt in Deutschland. In Deutschland haben Städte wie Hamburg, Bremen und Wien vier bis fünf grosse Theater, die Sommertheater in den Umgebungen gar nicht gerechnet. Nun unser St. Louis hat in diesem Sommer an fünfzehn Sommertheater des verschiedensten Calibers gehabt und wenn die Unternehmer, ihrer grossen Unkosten halber, auch keine Schätze sammelten, so zeigte sich doch von Seite des Publicums ein lebhafter Besuch und eine grosse Theaterlust. Alles wäre sehr ermuthigend, wenn—die Erfahrung vergangener Jahre nicht wäre. Ausser der philodramatischen Gesellschaft, die stets volle Häuser hatte, die aber auch nur 10 bis 20 Vorstellungen in einem ganzen Winter gab, haben alle folgenden regulären Theater-Directionen theils höchst mittelmässige, theils absolut schlechte Geschäfte gemacht. . . .

“Bei einer Bevölkerung von 60,000 Menschen sollte man doch, selbst bei ganz bescheidener Stützung, fünf Procent als Theater-Publicum anschlagen können; das gäbe von 60,000 Deutschen drei tausend Theaterbesucher. Nun denn, wenn von diesen drei tausend jeder Einzelne nur einmal in der Woche das Theater besucht, so kann eine gute deutsche Bühne hier bestehen; wenigstens ist ihr dann ein Stammpublicum gesichert und die Fremden und Durchreisenden und jene unregelmässigen Theaterbesucher, die nur bei besonderen Gelegenheiten ins Theater gehen, müssen dann den etwaigen Ausfall decken. Unsere Leser werden gestehen, dass wir sehr bescheidene Anforderungen an die Unterstützung des Theater-Publicums machen und dass man

glauben sollte, diese Wünsche und ihre Erfüllung lägen im Bereiche der Möglichkeit und würden sich wohl verwirklichen. Wir wünschen und hoffen es, denn sonst hätten wir die Aufgabe nicht unternommen, mit deren Lösung wir uns jetzt beschäftigen, wir haben von Anfang an das feste Vertrauen gehabt, dass die deutsche Bevölkerung von St. Louis ihr eigenes deutsches Theater haben und erhalten könne, und in diesem Vertrauen haben wir gehandelt.

“An abtrathenden und warnenden Stimmen hat es nicht gefehlt; Männer, die wir zu unseren wahren Freunden zählen, widerrieten uns ein deutsches Theaterunternehmen zu beginnen, sie stellten uns vor, wie wir unbedingt viel bessere Geschäfte machen müssten, wenn wir uns nicht bloss auf einen Theil des Publicums beschränkten, sondern, wie die amerikanischen Theater, auf das ganze Publicum, Amerikaner und Deutsche, Irländer und Engländer, speculirten. Wir gestanden ihnen zu, dass sie Recht hätten, und dass wir als Geschäftsmann unzweifelhaft sicherer und vorteilhafter speculiren würden, wenn wir heute eine italienische Oper und morgen ein englisches Schauspiel, diesen Monat die Ravels und im nächsten die Martinettis vorführten, aber wir bemerkten zugleich, dass der Gedanke . . . in St. Louis eine stabile, gute, deutsche Bühne zu begründen, uns viel verlockender sei, dass wir diesem Gedanken und diesem Wunsche schon früher vier Jahre angestrebter Bemühungen mit der philodramatischen Gesellschaft geopfert hätten und dass wir nun, wo Mittel und Unterstützung, wo die Zahl der darstellenden Kräfte und die Theaterlust des Publicums gestiegen seien, ernst entschlossen wären, wenigstens einen ersten Versuch zur Durchführung dieser unserer Lieblingsidee zu machen und weder Mühen, noch Opfer zu scheuen, um sie zu realisiren.

“Das Publicum kennt somit unsern Standpunkt als Theaterunternehmer, es ist nicht Speculationstrieb, nicht Gewinnsucht, die uns leiten, denn der Gewinn eines Theaterunternehmers hier ist noch immer ein sehr problematischer gewesen und obenein ‘haben wir zu leben,’ wie man im gewöhnlichen Leben zu sagen pflegt, und diese Zeitung giebt uns so sichere und so reichliche Erträgnisse, dass wir uns wohl

damit bescheiden können. Wir wollen also bei dem Theaterannehmen nicht reich werden, wir sind sogar, in den ersten Jahren wenigstens, auf Opfer gefasst, und wenn wir uns diese Opfer und mehr noch die ungeheure Mühe und Arbeit, die eine Theater-Direction mit sich bringt, aufladen, so geschieht es, um in dem deutschen St. Louis ein deutsches Theater herzustellen und fest zu begründen, das der Zahl, der Stellung, der Bildung und dem Einflusse unserer deutschen Bevölkerung entspricht." ¹⁶

It goes without saying that in a period of heated political controversy a man of the prominence of Börnstein, to whom political plotting was second nature, who in the columns of his paper had undertaken to rule the rising emancipation movement, should at the instigation of political animosity in unfriendly quarters have the sincerity of his motives questioned. But his contention that his was not a money-making scheme, but a pursuit in the interest of art and culture at least, the sequel of events does not disprove.

Börnstein leased the former Varieties Theatre, which he now called the St. Louis Opernhaus, for a period of ten years. He at once had an extensive theatrical library containing the best classics and contemporary plays forwarded to him from Vienna and Leipzig. He had a goodly supply of necessary stage scenery painted by a capable Austrian stage painter, Ferdinand Kurz. From a stranded Italian opera company he acquired a copiously stocked wardrobe more pretentious than that of most of the smaller court theatres in Germany. His ensemble was recruited from the best talent available in the country in so far as it was not permanently engaged in New York. In addition to Börnstein himself and his talented wife, the ensemble included such first-rate talent as Alexander Pfeiffer, actor of heroic and character parts; Karoline Lindemann, character and mother parts, and Julius Ascher, comedian and character actor.¹⁷ The first two,

¹⁶ *Anzeiger des Westens*, August 28, 1858.

¹⁷ The other members of the ensemble were Adolphi, by-parts; Wilhelm Berben, villain and comic parts; Ehnler, by-parts, servants; Fortner, leading comedian (part of first season); Anton Föllger, jeune premier; Julius Grossmann, leading gentleman, bonvivants, comic parts; Emil Höchster, gallants,

who had appeared in New York, the *Almanach der deutschen Bühnen in Amerika* lauded as the best talent on the New York stage at the time of their appearance there.¹⁸

Pfeiffer had enjoyed extensive reputation and high rank as an actor in Germany. Expression of liberal political views had led to a difference with the manager of the theatre at Mannheim, Baden, which determined him to emigrate to this country. Mme. Lindemann (née Müller) had received her tutelage under Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer in Zürich and had afterward scored a triumph in Darmstadt. Ascher had appeared successfully in Berlin. The members of the ensemble were all engaged for a period of eighteen months. It was Börnstein's plan to play summer and winter without interruption. In announcing his plans he wrote:

"Ein Theater, zu dem jedes Mal bei Beginn des Winters ein Dutzend Schauspieler und Schauspielerinnen zusammengetrommelt werden, die sich nicht kennen und verstehen, die dann über Hals und Kopf in ein Noth-Repertoire hineingestürzt werden, um, wenn sie anfangen sich zusammenzuspielen und ein Ensemble zu bilden, wieder entlassen zu werden, sobald der Frühling und die ersten Schwalben kommen,—ein solches one-horse-concern haben wir in Europa nie geführt und möchten es auch hier nicht. Dieses Exploitiren einer Winter-Saison, ohne alle Rücksicht auf höhere Kunstzwecke, könnte uns nicht befriedigen. Können wir hier nicht ein stabiles und gutes deutsches Theater herstellen, womit wir jetzt den Versuch beginnen, so bleibt uns nichts übrig, als die deutsche Bühne hier, wenn auch mit Bedauern, ihrem Schicksale zu überlassen und unser Theater in anderer Weise, gleich den übrigen amerikanischen Theatern auf das Möglichst-Beste zu verwerthen."¹⁹

naive parts; Kinklin, by-parts; Arthur Kampmann, gallants; Louis Menschke, servants, by-parts; Friedrich Röpenack, character and villain parts, fathers; Schwan, fathers and character parts; G. W. Stierlin, comedian; Wilson, Walter, Schüler, by-parts; Mlle. Börnstein, jeune premiere, by-parts; Mme. Alwine Dremmel, jeune premiere, by-parts; Mlle. Halenz, jeune premiere, by-parts; Mme. Rohardine Otto, leading lady; Mme. Louise Riedel, comic old women; Mme. Pfeiffer, mothers and comic old women. The complete personnel of the theatre, including property master and assistants, numbered about forty.

¹⁸ Heinrich Schmidt, *Almanach der deutschen Bühnen in Amerika* (New York: G. B. Teubner, 1860), I, 14 ff.

¹⁹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, September 4, 1859.

The St. Louis Opernhaus was formally opened September 15, 1859. In order to afford time for the new theatrical company to assemble and hold necessary rehearsals the German theatrical season proper was prefaced by a series of twenty opera performances by Signora Parodi's Italian Opera Company. The company, which included as principals the prima donnas Teresa Parodi and Karline Alaino, the tenor Giovanni Sbiglia, the baritone F. Gnone and the basso N. Barili, was pronounced by critics to have been superior to that of Strakosch and others which had previously visited St. Louis. It presented *La Traviata* four times, *Polinto* three times, *Il Trovatore*, *Lucia di Lammermoore*, *Norma*, *Ernani* and *Lucrecia Borgia* each twice, and *La Favorita*, *Rigolette* and *Il Babiere di Siviglia* each once.²⁰

The theatrical season opened October 1 with a performance of Goethe's *Egmont*. Performances were given daily. The season promised well. The repertory presented showed that the director was working toward the artistic and cultural goal he had set before him. The hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth was commemorated in the Opernhaus by a series of Schiller's plays. His *Räuber*, *Kabale und Liebe*, *Fiesco*, *Maria Stuart*, *Wallensteins Tod* and *Wilhelm Tell* were presented on November 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 respectively. The series was prefaced November 5 by a performance of Laube's *Karlsschüler*. Excepting a Sunday performance of Hersch's *Anna Lisa*, three classic

²⁰ Signora Parodi's Company returned to the St. Louis Opernhaus December 27 for a series of performances, at which the following operas were given: *Norma*, *La Traviata*, and *Don Giovanni*, each twice; *Il Trovatore*, *Lucia di Lammermoore*, *Lucrecia Borgia* and *Polinto*, once. Later in the season the French opera company from New Orleans with Mme. Dalmont-Messmacre as prima donna, Demoiselle D'Arcy as soubrette, M. Philippe as tenor, gave a number of performances which alternated with the German theatrical performances. In April, 1861, Madame Colson's Italian Opera Company gave a series of performances in the Opernhaus. The company included the prima donnas Pauline Colson and Miss Kellog, the tenor Brignoli, the baritone Ferri and the basso Susini. Later the pantomime and ballet company Siegrist-Zamfretta with a large corps de ballet and excellent danseuses, and finally Anna Bishop with her concert company, appeared on the stage of the Opernhaus to lend the season variety.

plays—*Faust*, *Jungfrau von Orleans* and Moreto's *Donna Dianna* (German by West)—attracted the largest audiences during the initial months of the season. These plays formed part of a series of eighteen performances in which Antonie Grahn, formerly of the Hoftheater in Darmstadt, later of the Stadt Theater in New York, appeared in starring parts, such as Gretchen, Ophelia, Julia, Johanna, Maria Stuart and Donna Dianna. She received unstinted praise for her work, in which she received first-rate support from Pfeiffer in rôles such as Faust and Hamlet, Mme. Lindemann as Martha, Föllger as Romeo, and Börnstein as Perin in *Donna Dianna*. Beginning with February the company had the support of Heinrich Kronfeld, of the Hoftheater in Darmstadt, in a number of performances. He excelled in comedy. He proved to be a drawing attraction, as Mme. Grahn had been.

But the unhappy political and attending economic conditions of the time militated against the realization of Börnstein's plans. As the performances grew in dramaturgical excellence and gained in the estimation of the critics, the attendance decreased. Constrained by the necessity of attracting a full house, Börnstein was forced to strive after that which was designed for effect. In March and April, 1860, he staged fourteen performances of *Der Zauberschleier*, *romantisch-komisches Feenspiel mit Gesang und Tanz*, an adaptation from Scribe by F. X. Told. In September and October of the same year he staged twenty-four performances of Raimund's *Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel*, and in November nine performances of a local *Scherzspiel* by Told called *Liebeleien in Cincinnati*, *Neckereien in St. Louis* und *Fop-pereien in Carondelet*. But such performances were not staged at the sacrifice of quality. With reference to the performances of the *Zauberschleier*, a contributor to the *Anzeiger* wrote: "Hat sich unser Opernhaus-Theater in Bezug auf Darstellung bis jetzt schon den ersten Platz in Amerika erobert, so tritt es mit den letzten Aufführungen des Zauberschleiers auch in jeder anderen Beziehung in die Reihe der grossen Theater ein, und St. Louis darf stolz auf ein Institut sein, das auf die Beurtheilung des

hiesigen deutschen Elements auf das Vortheilhafteste zurückwirken muss." ²¹

And commenting upon the Liebeleien performances, a critic wrote: "Wir dürfen es dreist aussprechen, dass die Direktion mit der Nothwendigkeit, eine Reihe voller Häuser zu schaffen, aufs Neue in einer Weise entledigt, die wieder einmal den von uns schon ausgesprochenen Satz bestätigt, dass die St. Louiser deutsche Bühne die erste in den Vereinigten Staaten ist." ²²

Because of poor attendance Börnstein concluded to close the Opernhaus temporarily January 20, 1861, and in the interim to take his company to Cincinnati, where conditions were not yet affected by the impending political crisis. The company played with success in Pike's Opera House in Cincinnati, where it had the hearty support of the German press, and then, ere returning to St. Louis, played with appreciative reception for several evenings in Louisville. ²³ The company resumed daily performances in the St. Louis Opernhaus March 31.

Sundays had brought the German theatre its largest audiences. When the Know-nothing party, the political enemy of the "free-soil" Germans, came into power, they at once unearthed and arbitrarily enforced an antiquated law which prohibited the theatre to open on Sundays. On the 8th of April the new police commissioners were installed. On Sunday, April 14, at six o'clock in the evening, Börnstein was notified not to open his theatre. He declined to heed the police order. Fifteen minutes later the new chief of police with forty policemen came and took possession of the building. Threatened violence upon the police by the assembled Germans was forestalled by a speech from Börnstein, who advised them to quietly go home. Inability to give the customary "Sacred Concerts," as the Sunday performances had in the past been termed, dictated that a German theatre could not

²¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, March 20, 1860.

²² *Anzeiger des Westens*, November 11, 1860.

²³ "Herrn Börnstein gebührt allerdings für die von ihm organisirte Schauspielertruppe, die er Anfangs der 60er Jahre ebenfalls nach Cincinnati brachte, und zu deren eifrigsten Unterstützern auch wir gehörten, grosse Anerkennung. Wir gestehen es ein, es war das das beste deutsche Theater was Cincinnati je gehabt hat."—*Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1882), XIV, 20.

meet with financial success. For the German element of the city lived for the most part in the extreme northern and southern parts of the city and therefore had no time to attend performances after business hours on week days. Börnstein consequently closed his theatre permanently April 20.

Had the police interference not put an abrupt end to St. Louis Opernhaus, the political crisis, which within the next fortnight became acute, would have done so. After the closing of the theatre Börnstein used all his energies and did much to consolidate the German sentiment of St. Louis in favor of the Union. He was prominent in organizing the German troops for the defense of the United States arsenal in St. Louis. He took part under General Lyon in the seizure of Camp Jackson May 10, 1861. He was elected Colonel of the Second Regiment of Mis-

III. 1861-1891.

A. 1861-1867. A New Era Begins. The Directorship of Wilhelm Koser.

After the St. Louis Opernhaus had closed its doors Alexander Pfeiffer attempted with a remnant of Börnstein's ensemble to institute a German stage in Apollo Garten. At the souri Volunteers, and as such saw active service.²⁴

initial performance, July 9, Bohn's *Drama, Der Tower von London*, was staged. The following day Benedix's *Schauspiel, Die Stiefmutter*, and Putlitz's *Lustspiel, Badekuren*, were performed, and July 11, Töpfer's *Lustspiel, Freien nach Vorschrift*. This third performance marked the end of the experiment. At a time when the columns of the German press were full of calls

²⁴ After several months of active military service, spent for the most part in Jefferson City, Börnstein was appointed counsel to Bremen by President Lincoln. He went abroad, to return in 1864, at the invitation of his friend, Hon. Francis P. Blair, to take part in Lincoln's second campaign. After the election he returned to his consular post, which he held till deprived of it in 1864 in consequence of the rotation in office which followed Lincoln's death. From 1869-1871 he was codirector with Carl Bukovics, of the Josephstadt Theater in Vienna. During his last years he corresponded for the *Cincinnati Volksblätter*, the *Westliche Post* and the *Illinois-Staats-Zeitung*. He died in Vienna, September 10, 1890.

for volunteers to do military service in the cause of the Union, an attempt to set up a stage could not prove other than futile. A number of actors formerly belonging to Börnstein's ensemble were now engaged in active military service under his command.

A new era for German theatricals began with the spring of 1862. May 18 the theatre in Apollo Garten was formally reopened under the directorship of Alexander Pfeiffer, June 1 the one in Ruedi's Volksgarten under the directorship of R. Rosinski and A. Föllger. Both theatres usually played three times weekly, tho the latter advertised irregularly. During June and July occasional performances were also given in Flora Garten under the management of Rosinski. In these Mme. Louise Thielemann, who had been active on the St. Louis stage in the early part of its history, took part. The personnel of the performances during the season was a varying one. In the ensemble of the theatre in Apollo Garten appear the names of Theodor Boll, Julius Grossmann, Könemann, Lange (of Cincinnati), Mme. Caroline Lindmann, Mme. Ludovika and Mlle. Malwine Pfeiffer, and in occasional starring parts, Ascher, G. W. Stierlin, Spitznas, Werber and Föllger, and Mmes. Koser, Otto and Werber, among them members of the ensemble in Ruedi's Volksgarten. In the latter ensemble appear the names of Wilhelm Böttner, Föllger, Werber, Mme. and Mlle. Böttner, and Mmes. Otto, Pritzkow, Ungar and Werber. August 10 the directorship of the performances in Ruedi's Volksgarten passed into the hands of Böttner. In a number of performances under his short lived directorship, which terminated August 24, the combined talent of the two stages took part. Aside from one performance each of Laube's *Karlsschüler* and *Montrose* in Apollo Garten nothing of literary value was staged during this season. Kotzebue, Friedrich, Nestroy, Birch-Pfeiffer, Görner and Benedix, the most popular dramatists represented on the stage during the period antedating the establishment of the St. Louis Opernhaus, and popular on the latter stage, continued to

be preferred during the season with 8, 10, 3, 4, 7 and 10 performances respectively. Raupach was represented twice. The relative percentage of *Schauspiel*, *Volksstück*, etc., *Lustspiel* and *Posse* presented under the Pfeiffer and the Rosinski-Föllger-Böttner managements were respectively 21+, 5—, 47+, 27—, and 3—, 11—, 26+, and 61— per cent.

The summer season in Apollo Garten was concluded October 3. October 5 Pfeiffer staged Krüger's *Mädchen vom Dorfe* in the former St. Louis Opernhaus, now again called the Varieties Theatre. October 21 he opened a winter season in Concert Hall with a performance of Deinhardtstein's *Hans Sachs*. Details of Pfeiffer's activity during this season are meagre in the extant records. Reference to his stage in later years, however, ranked the performances under his direction with those of Börnstein. The end of this season marked the termination of his connection with the St. Louis stage.

Beginning with this same winter the destiny of the German stage for the next five years lay chiefly in the hands of Wilhelm Koser. October 1 Koser opened a theatre on Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, "dem Courthouse gegenüber im Museum," which he termed the Deutsches Stadttheatre. He conducted a theatre in this same building for four consecutive winter seasons, but each season the theatre underwent a change of name. With the second season (October 6, 1863—May 1, 1864), the name was changed to the St. Louis Stadttheater, with the third season (October 8, 1864—May 21, 1865), to the National Theater, which, with the fourth season (September 6, 1865—May 14, 1866), was again changed to the Deutsches Stadttheater, also called during this season the Metropolitan Theater. During the last winter under his directorship Koser performed on Sundays (September 23, 1866—April 28, 1867) in the Varieties Theatre and occasionally in the Olympic Theatre, and on week-days (February 9—April 22) in the "Walhalla" Vaudeville Theater on Fourth Street, between Mar-

ket and Walnut Streets. The former winter home of Koser's theatre had been destroyed by fire in the spring of 1866.

During the intervening summers, with the exception of the summer of 1865, Koser regularly conducted a summer theatre. During the summer of 1863 he played first in Ruedi's Volksgarten and later (August 6—October 3) in Apollo Garten. In the latter he again played the following summer (June 14—October 3, 1864). During the summer of 1866 he played in the Stadttheater Garden on Elm Street, between Third and Fourth. The gap in Koser's activity as director presented by the summer of 1865 was filled by Hannes Lewens who conducted the stage in Apollo Garten from May 21 till September 24 with daily performances principally of *Lustspiel* and *Posse* by an ensemble recruited largely from the ranks of the company directed by Koser during the preceding winter. During the course of the summer Alexander Pfeiffer played under Lewen's directorship in four, and Louis Pelosi and his wife in eight star engagements.

Koser played daily in both his winter and summer theatre, with the exception of the first two winter seasons, during which he played three or four times weekly. The personnel of his stage during these years changed almost completely from season to season.²⁵ With the aid of talent such as Otto von Hoym

²⁵ In the following list of those recorded as playing under Koser's directorship the figures 2, 3, 4, 6 and 2-3, 3-4, etc., indicate respectively the summer seasons 1862, 1863, etc., and the winter seasons 1862-63, etc., during which the actor in question played in his ensemble. An asterisk indicates that the actor appeared during the season not as a regular member of the ensemble, but in *Gastspiele*.

Ahlfeld 5-6, Julius Ascher *4, *5-6, Rudolph Beckier *4, Berman 5-6, Theodor Boll *3-4, T. Conny *4-5, Conrady 5-6, Anton Föllger *3, *4, *4-5, Caesar Franck *6, Friedrich Gebhard 4-5, Anton Graff 5-6, 6, Heinrich Graff 6, Grochner 6-7, J. Grossman 3, 3-4, R. Grünwald 4-5, Albert Gühlen 5-6, 6-7, Georg Hagen 6, M. Hahn *3-4, E. Härting 5-6, Rudolph Helmer 6, Emil Höchster 4, 4-5, Otto von Hoym *6-7, Gustav Hübsch 6, Richard Jahn 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, Ludwig Knorr *4, Julius Koch 4-5, 6-7, Kress 5-6, Georg Krüger 3, 3-4, Wilhelm Kunst 4-5, 6, Emil Lasswitz *5-6, *6, Hugo Lennert 4-5, Bruno Lenschner 6, Hannes Lewens 4, 4-5, 5-6, 6, 6-7, Adolph Lieberati 6, 6-7, J. K. McAfferty (Professor in Racine College, in one performance of Halm's *Sohn der Wildnis*, February 12, 1866), Louis Menschke 4, 4-5, Conrad Müller 6, Wilhelm Mumsen 6, Friedrich Neidmann 4-5, 5-6, 6, 6-7, Emil von der Osten *6-7, Gustav Ostermann *4, Carl Otto 3-4, 6-7, Pelzer 3, Alexander Pfeiffer *5-6, Karl Rensberg 4, G. Rogge 5-6, R. Rosinsky 3, 3-4, Erwin Rossbach 6,

and Emil von der Osten, Mmes. Bekker-Grahn and Mlle. Clausen, Koser was, however, able to conduct a stage of literary as well as dramaturgical importance. Press comment on the performance under Koser's directorship is occasional and general in nature. The relative merit of his stage is attested by reminiscient comment in the editorial columns of the press of the next decade, where his performances and his audiences are classed with those of Börnstein and Pfeiffer.

Of the 945 performances recorded as given under Koser's direction, the *Trauerspiel* represented 5— per cent., *Schauspiel*, 19+ per cent., *Volksstück*, etc., 15+ per cent., *Lustspiel*, 25— per cent., *Posse*, 25— per cent., *Singspiel*, etc., 6— per cent., *Oper*, 5— per cent. The repertory included many plays of literary importance. These were (figures indicate number of times performed): Goethe's *Faust* 4; Schiller's *Braut von Messina* 5, *Don Carlos* 1, *Fiesco* 1, *Jungfrau von Orleans* 5, *Kabale und Liebe* 2, *Maria Stuart* 3, *Räuber* 9, *Wallensteins Lager* 2, *Wallensteins Tod* 1, *Wilhelm Tell* 4; Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* 1; Grillparzer's *Medea* 2; Gutzkow's *Königsleutnant* 1, *Uriel Acosta* 6; Hebbel's *Genoveva* 3; Kleist's *Kätchen von Heilbronn* 3; Laube's *Graf Essex* 3, *Karlsschüler* 5; Raimund's *Alpenkönig* 3, *Bauer als Millionär* 5, *Verschwender* 5; Shakespeare's *Bezühmte Widerspenstige* 1, *Hamlet* 4, *Kaufmann von Venedig* 3, *Othello* 1,

Otto Rudolph 4, 5-6, Leonhard Scherer *5, 5-6, J. H. Schmitz 4-5, H. Schmitz 3-4, 5-6, 6, Carl Schöne 3, C. Schunck *6, Friedrich Schurthe 3-4, Friedrich Schwan *3-4, Alexander Julius Varena 4-5, Carl Werber 3-4, 4, Christian Wolf 5-6, Ignatz Wolf *3-4, *4, 4-5, 5-6, *6, *6-7, Alphons von Zerboni 6.

Mmes. Ahlfeld 5-6, Antoine Bekker-Grahn *4-5, *6, Elise Böttner *4, *4-5, Mlle. Johanna Claussen *4-5, *5-6, *6, *6-7, Mme. Danzi-Hausmann 3-4, Mlles. Pauline Dursy 5-6, 6, Sophia Dzinba *6, Ottilie Genée *5-6, Maria Graff 6, Mme. Mathilda Graff 6, Mlles. Grempler 5-6, Emma Grosse 4-5, Mme. Anna Grünwald 4-5, Mlles. Louise Haase *5-6, *6-7, Hedwig Hesse *5-6, Hofsteden 4-5, 6-7, Kaiser 5-6, Mme. Albertine Koser 2-3, 6, Mlle. Johanna Lehmann 5-6, 6-7, Mme. Caroline Lindemann 3, 3-4, 4, 4-5, 5-6, Mlles. Ida Marchand *6, Ottilie Müller 6, Emma Neumann 6, Mmes. L. von der Osten *6-7, Minna Ostermann-Böttner *4, Rohardine Otto 4, 5-6, 6-7, Hendricks-Peltzer 3, 3-4, Henriette Peterson 4-5, 6, Mlle. Ludwika Pfeiffer 5-6, Mmes. Malwine Pfeiffer *5-6, Amalie Pritzkow 3-4, 4, 4-5, 6-7, Prüller 3-4, Mlles. Franziska Roland *4-5, Caroline Schmitz 6-7, Johanna Schmidt *3-4, 4, Mme. Louise Schmitz 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6, Maria von Schramm *3-4, Mlles. Augusta Sonnenschein 4, 4-5, 6-7, Anna Wedemeyer 4, Caroline Werner 4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7, Rosa von Zerboni 6.

Richard III 1, *Romeo und Juliet* 1, *Wintermärchen* 5. Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer was the most popular dramatist for the period, Benedix ranked second. Their plays were performed 64 and 35 times, respectively. Kotzebue was represented 12 times, Raupach but once. Weihrauch's *Volksstück, Die Maschinenbauer* was the most popular individual play; it was staged 14 times.²⁶

In several instances Koser's stage suffered competition. Beginning with September 6, 1863, an attempt was made to stage German drama in Bechtner's Varieties on Fifth Street, between Morgan Street and Franklin Avenue, called for this season the Deutsches Stadttheater. Emil Höchster was stage director. The attempt was short lived. None of the plays presented possessed literary merit. After the eighth performance on November 15 all notice of the theatre disappears from the columns of the press.

From May 20 till November 6, 1864, R. Rosinski conducted a German theatre, at first in the Deutscher Volksgarten at 136 North Fifth Street and after cold weather set in, in the Deutsche Volkshalle with which the Garten was connected. His theatre was typically a Volkstheater which essayed nothing more pretentious than an entertaining *Lustspiel* or *Posse*. It announced at its opening daily performances, but advertised irregularly. The limited personnel consisted of Messrs. E. Goldschmidt, C. Miller, R. Rosinski, Mme. D. Haase and Mlle. Louise Schmuckert and Marie Freebertheyer, whose efforts were supplemented by occasional help from Koser's ensemble.

One or more of several Volksgarten—the former Ruedi's Volksgarten, Washington Garten at Third and Elm Streets, and Franklin Garten at Tenth Street and Franklin Avenue—usually staged *Possen* and kindred pieces during the summers of 1864, 65, 66 and 67, admission to which was free or ten cents, for which usually "2 Bier-tickets" were given to the visitor. But such stages rarely advertised.

²⁶ The season of 1863-64 included a half dozen performances by Holman's National Opern-Truppe, which sang Bellini's *Nachtwandlerin* and Balse's *Zigeunermädchen* each twice, and Rossini's *Aschenbrödel* and Donizetti's *Tochter des Regiments* each once.

While Koser was playing in the Stadttheater Garten, Anton Föllger from May 3 till August 17, 1866, conducted a theatre with daily performances in Apollo Garten. His ensemble was limited. The incomplete list of those recorded as belonging to it included the names of Föllger, Graf, Mönch, Friedrich Schwan, Mme. Amalia Pritzkow and Mlles. M. Hoehm, Pfeiffer and Emma Neumann. Föllger relied largely for assistance upon outside talent. Ludwig Knorr, stage director of the Stadttheater in New York, Julius Koch, Emil Lasswitz, Röpenack, Zerboni, Mmes. Bekker-Grahn, Louise Haase, Röpenack, Zerboni, and Mlle. Johanna Clausen played under his direction in the course of the season. The great number of stars appearing on this stage during the season raised the standard of its repertory above that of the average summer theatre. Goethe's *Faust*, Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Laube's *Graf Essex* and Gutzkow's *Zopf und Schwert* were each performed once, Gutzkow's *Königsleutnant* twice. The different types of play were represented as follows: *Trauerspiel* 4—%, *Schauspiel* 13—%, *Volksstück*, etc., 21—%, *Lustspiel* 24—%, *Posse* 23+%, *Singspiel*, etc. (including two performances of Auber's *Stumme von Portici*), 16—%.

From January 20 till February 22, 1867, the Olympic Theatre was the scene of eleven German performances under the stage direction of Hannes Lewens. The short lived season was inaugurated by a number of actors who were for the time being without regular engagements, some of whom later joined Koser's ensemble.

B. 1867-1870. *An Uneventful Period of Decline.*

During the summer and the first half of the ensuing winter season following the suspension of Koser's activity on the St. Louis stage, Emil Lasswitz directed daily performances in the Apollo Garten Theater (May 11—October 7, 1867; November 21, 1867—May 20, 1868). On the six Sundays intervening between the summer and winter seasons Lasswitz staged plays with his ensemble in the Varieties Theatre. The Apollo Garten Theater had in the meantime been rebuilt. A reviewer of the

opening performance (Goethe's *Clavigo*) takes occasion to comment upon the improvement wrought by the renovation, saying: "Wir haben nach langer, bitterer Entbehrung ein wenn auch nicht übermässig grosses, so doch eine hinreichende Zahl Zuschauer bequem fassendes, prächtig eingerichtetes, zierliches deutsches Theater und können uns des Instituts mit vollstem Rechte freuen."²⁷ Lasswiz resigned the directorship of the theatre at the end of January with the intention of returning to Germany, whereupon Kurth, who had been associated with him as business manager, took charge and played daily till May 20. the end of the season. The season was made notable by the large number of "Gastspiele," some of which proved sufficiently attractive to warrant performances by the Apollo ensemble occasionally in one of the larger theatres of the city. In such starring parts appeared C. Härting, Joseph Keppler, Theodor L'Arronge, Mmes. Hedwig L'Arronge and Louise Haase, Mlles. Hedwig Hesse and Dora Rolff, and the Hungarian dwarfs Jean Piccolo, Jean Petit and Kis Jozsi. The latter three appeared almost daily before crowded houses for over a month (March 16—April 19). Some reviewers proclaimed them to be great artists. The review in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for April 19, 1868, undoubtedly comes nearer the truth when it says: "Im Übrigen sind und bleiben sie wohl grosse Kunstmerkwürdigkeiten—das Prädikat 'Künstler' aber in dem Sinne, in welchem es die Ästhetik den Jüngern der Bühne zuspricht, kann ihnen nicht zuerkannt werden."

With the opening of the summer season, May 23, Kurth again continued to stage daily performances in the same theatre. Alphons von Zerboni acted as stage manager under his directorship. July 13 Kurth withdrew from the theatre. His repertory had been designed chiefly with the view to entertain, but hard times kept down the attendance. "Er hatte das Seinige redlich und mit dem besten Willen gethan, hatte Opfer auf Opfer gebracht, aber ohne dass damit ein Erfolg erzielt wurde, der ihm

²⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, November 22, 1867.

die Weiterführung des Theaters hätte wünschenswerth erscheinen lassen. Die Ausgaben überstiegen stets die Einnahmen und Herr Kurth, der mit der Absicht, als reeler Geschäftsmann reel zu handeln, seiner Zeit mit Herrn Lasswitz die Direktion des Apollo Theaters übernommen hatte, sah sich—nach ununterbrochenen pekuniären Verlusten—schliesslich gezwungen, sich von der Leitung des Unternehmens zurückzuziehen. Zu viele leere Häuser in den Wochentagen—Sonntags ist das Theater regelmässig gut besucht gewesen—sind auch in der jüngsten Winter—und in der ersten Hälfte der laufenden Sommersaison der Nagel zum Sarge für das Unternehmen gewesen und es gehört in der That Muth dazu, nach so vielen Entmuthigenden die Sache in die Hand zu nehmen. . . . Der Eintrittspreis ist (namentlich im Sommertheater) so ausserordentlich niedrig gestellt, dass man sehr Vielen, die sich hinter ‘die schlechten Zeiten’ verstecken, nachweisen könnte, eine wie viel grössere Summe ihrerseits allabendlich der Unterstützung der edlen Kunst des Bierbrauens zugewendet wird.”²⁸

About the same time that Kurth retired Zerboni became ill. He died after several weeks and his wife out of despair over the loss of her husband soon thereafter committed suicide. Following Kurth’s retirement Krüger and Schiller, the lessees of the theatre, engaged Hannes Lewens as stage manager and under his guidance brought the season to a conclusion October 12, 1868.

Since the retirement of Lassowitz the theatre had artistically ranked low and possessed no literary merit. Attendance had been poor. Krüger and Schiller resumed the directorship of the theatre with the opening of the winter season October 22. They engaged Lewens and Julius Koch as stage managers. The initial weeks during this winter in no respects offered an improvement. The elite no longer patronized the theatre. January 18 Krüger and Schiller turned the theatre over to Louise Haase. She made elaborate plans for improvement. She had the hearty co-operation of the press. Commenting upon the change of management the *Anzeiger* for January 17, 1869, says: “Die direktionslose,

²⁸ *Anzeiger des Westens*, July 14, 1868.

die schreckliche Zeit erreicht heute ihr Ende und von Morgen an hat das Apollo Theater eine artistische Leitung, deren Nichtvorhandensein sich in jüngster Zeit nur allzusehr fühlbar gemacht hatte. Ueber dem hiesigen deutschen Theater waltet seit Jahresfrist und länger ein eigener Unstern—und vielleicht geht ihm in der neuen Direktion ein glücklicher Stern auf. *Fines* ist sicher: Frau L. Haase ist der Aufgabe, der sich die Dame nunmehr unterzieht, gewachsen und das waren ihre unmittelbaren Vorgänger *nicht*.

“Die Herren Krüger und Schiller hatten, kein Gutmeinender wird das in Abrede stellen, einen in mehr denn einer Hinsicht äusserst schwierigen Standpunkt, keiner von Beiden ist mit dem Bühnenwesen auch nur entfernt vertraut und was die Folge dieser Thatsache war, davon weiss das Theaterpublikum einer—die Kasse der Unternehmer anderseits—ein Liedchen zu singen. Doch darüber, wie über so manches andere, der Vergangenheit Angehörnde, mag der Zwischenvorhang fallen und in den Vordergrund einzig und allein die neue Direktion mit ihrer theoretischen wie praktischen Befähigungen zur Leitung des Theaters treten. Ihr wird das Publikum mit allem Vertrauen auf die Inaugurirung einer neuen Bühnen-Era entgegenkommen; ihr wird zuvörderst der Beweis geliefert werden, dass der Werth des Geleisteten den Massstab für die Theilnahme des Publikums abgiebt und dass ein deutsches Theater in St. Louis bestehen kann, wenn das Verstehen auf Seite der Bühnenleitung nicht mangelt. Schon hört man von, durch Frau Haase beschlossenen ‘Reformen’ und von der Energie, deren die Dame ein gut Theil besitzen soll, lässt sich erwarten, dass neben dem ‘Reformiren’ auch das Substituiren und Completiren in zweckentsprechender Weise gehandhabt werden wird.”

With the aid of outside talent Mme. Haase was able to raise the standard of the theatre. Frau von Börndorf, one of the starring performers, drew full houses and at her concluding performance was presented with a silver service by a number of her admirers. For a time St. Louis again enjoyed first-class performances. In spite of increased price of admission, attendance increased.

This winter season closed April 16. After several post-seasonal performances Mme. Haase formally opened the summer season in Apollo Garten, May 16. By the middle of July the public had again grown indifferent to her efforts. She was constrained to discontinue her directorship July 19. Mme. Auguste Höfl reopened the theatre July 27, under her own management. Mme. Höfl made a serious attempt to bring new life into the stage. She introduced occasional opera and operette which attracted not only Germans, but also Americans, and received favorable recognition from the English as well as German press. But the fact that the expense entailed by a stage of such proportions was out of proportion to the proceeds it netted, dissuaded Mme. Höfl from continuing the experiment. The last several weeks of the season concluding September 26 were devoted to *Lustspiel* and *Posse*.

The following winter (October 3, 1869—May 18, 1870) Krüger and Schiller again assumed charge of the Apollo Garten stage. Beginning with January, prior to which the company usually played without regular director, Kurth again directed the stage for Krüger and Schiller. He was succeeded with the beginning of the summer season by Lewens and Lasswitz. The success of the winter season was made possible by the assistance of artists such as Otto von Hoym, J. Humbser, Joseph Keppler, and Mes. Elise von Hoym and Sophie Frida Vellguth (from the Stadttheater in Milwaukee).

The public during the years represented by the period 1867-70 was apathetic with reference to the theatre. This apathy together with the frequent changes of directorship caused the theatre to suffer in attendance and from the standpoint of dramaturgical attainment. It required an unusual star or the presence of the unique as represented in the three dwarfs to attract a full house. If the literary merit of the repertory seemingly did not suffer, the fact must be ascribed to the frequency of the *Gastspiele*. Of the 1018 plays performed the *Trauerspiel* represented in terms of percentage 3—, *Schauspiel* 11—, *Volksstück*, etc., 14+, *Lustspiel* 22+, *Posse* 31+, *Singspiel* 8+, *Oper* and *Operette* 11+. The serious dramas appearing on the stage dur-

ing these years were the following (figures indicate number of times performed): Goethe's *Clavigo* 2, *Egmont* 1, *Faust* 1; Schiller's *Braut von Messina* 1, *Don Carlos* 1, *Jungfrau von Orleans* 1, *Kabale und Liebe* 1, *Maria Stuart* 2, *Die Räuber* 3, *Wallensteins Lager* 2, *Wilhelm Tell* 2, *Turandot* 2; Shakespeare's *Hamlet* 5, *Macbeth* 1, *Othello* 3, *Romeo und Juliet* 1, *Ein Sommernäpchen* 1, *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung* 3; Freytag's *Journalisten* 1; Gutzkow's *Königsleutnant* 2; Hebbel's *Genoveva* 2; Kleist's *Küchen von Heilbronn* 2; Laube's *Böse Zungen* 4, *Graf Essex* 2; Raimund's *Alpenkönig* 1, *Bauer als Millionär* 1, *Verschwender* 4.

C. 1870-1880. Opera on the Apollo Stage 1870-1875. The Pclosi Directorship 1871-1880.

The summer season of 1870 (May 21—October 16) Krüger and Schiller introduced opera and operette along with drama on the Apollo stage under the direction of Carl Schramm as musical conductor. During the course of the summer Donizetti's *Regimentstochter* was sung once, Offenbach's *Verlobung bei der Laterne*, and Suppe's *Flotte Bursche* and *Schöne Galathee* each twice, Offenbach's *Orpheus in der Unterwelt* five times, his *Schöne Helene* fifteen times, and *Der Blaubart* eighteen times.

During the next five years the Apollo Garten Theater was devoted to a large extent to opera and operette. Julius Herrmann, who during the summer of 1870 had appeared in starring parts in the Apollo Garten Theater, was director of that theatre during the winter of 1870-71. Herrmann made it his aim to present almost exclusively opera and *Lustspiel*. The performances he staged were not perfect, but pleased, as is apparent from the word of warning contained in the criticism printed in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for October 23, 1870, which, after commenting on the excellencies of the performance in question, says: "Nichts ist so verderblich und muss verderblich fürs Theater sein, als Berichte, denen auf der Stirn geschrieben steht, dass sie eben nichts weiter sind, als geschäftsmässige Puffs. Wenn ein

Blatt z. B. schreibt, dass die Aufführung von 'Fra Diavolo' am Freitag 'die beste war, die jemals hier gesehen, und gehört worden sei,' so mag das, als Geschäftsempfehlung, vielleicht zu entschuldigen sein, dem Publikum gegenüber ist es aber nicht zu rechtfertigen. Dass die Chöre 'tadellos' waren, wie es in jenem Blatte zu lesen, heisst der Wahrheit so stark ins Gesicht schlagen, dass Musikverständige, die der Aufführung beiwohnten, ein Recht haben, über solches Lobhudeln ungehalten zu werden." Herrmann instituted a number of "Galavorstellungen." At the first of these Hugo Müller's *Genrebild Adelaide* followed by selections from grand opera was given. It succeeded in creating interest anew for the stage in many who had grown apathetic toward it. "Der ersten der im Laufe der Saison zu veranstaltenden Gala-Versammlungen wohnte kein sehr zahlreiches, dagegen ein um so gewählteres Publikum bei, so dass alte 'ergraute' Theaterhabitués sich in die Zeiten der Alexander Pfeifferschen Direktion, oder in die Wintersaison des National Theaters unter Direktor Koser zurückversetzt glauben konnten, in jene Zeiten, da dem deutschen Theater noch reges Interesse von Seiten der Elite des hiesigen Deutschtumes geschenkt ward und das Auditorium die besten deutschen Familien der Stadt in sich zu schliessen pflegte. Der Anblick des Zuschauerraums am gestrigen Abend liess das Bedauern über die in gewissen Kreisen dem Theater gegenüber herrschende Lautheit doppelt rege werden, und damit zugleich den Wunsch nach Besserwerden."²⁹

But the enthusiasm these Galavorstellungen aroused was but spasmodic. Less than two weeks later, December 31, the reviewer in the same paper complains bitterly over the poor attendance at the really first class performances: "'Lucretia Borgia' wird im Apollo Theater besser aufgeführt, als sie z. B. von der Parodi Truppe, später unter Strakosch's Management oder von der Ghioni-Susini Gesellschaft gegeben wurde. Es hat, danach zu schliessen, also auch auf diesem Gebiete der alte Satz, nach welchem 'der Prophet in seinem Vaterlande nichts gilt' seine Berechtigung. *Weil* Direktor Herrmann sich hier niedergelassen, *weil* er das Theater übernommen hat, *weil* Fr. Schüler-Jäger und Frl. Dziuba St. Louis zu ihrem Wohnort erkoren haben, *weil*

²⁹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, December 21, 1870.

Beetz, Humbler, Graff, etc., für die ganze Saison engagirt sind, *weil* man also noch Zeit hat, sie im Laufe des Winters zu hören, *deshalb* lässt man die Vorstellungen einer der ansprechendsten, melodienreichsten Opern eines Tonmeisters unbesucht! Solcher-gestalt ist die Logik, die dem übeln Stande der Dinge zu Grunde liegt. Es ist freilich eine sehr unlogische Logik.—Was aber wird die Folge schliesslich sein? Dass wir einbüßen werden, was wir jetzt besitzen und was keine zweite Stadt im ganzen Lande aufzuweisen hat: eine permanente deutsche Oper. Und erst, wenn es zu spät sein, wenn der Schatz unseren Händen entglitten sein wird, erst dann wird das Bedauern kommen, dann erst wird man 'die schönen Tage' zurückwünschen, die Tage, die uns solche musikalische Freuden gebracht hatten." January 26 the reviewer again speaks in similar terms, concluding: "Es bleibt beim Alten, beim Schlimmen."

The winter season concluded June 2, 1871. During this time Herrmann had usually played daily. Beginning June 4 he commenced a summer season. But as early as June 25 he found himself constrained to cease performing, because of the apathy of the public toward his efforts. Ferdinand Ahlfeld then took charge as director with performances several times weekly, at times daily, concluding the season September 29, which was followed by a number of post-seasonal performances ending October 27. His repertory, made up chiefly of *Lustspiel* and *Posse*, included occasional opera performances.

During the ensuing winter the drama prevailed on the Apollo stage under the directorship of Louis Pelosi. Pelosi's advent marks a decided rise in the artistic and literary niveau of German theatricals in St. Louis. The very successful season which he conducted during this winter will be discussed below in connection with his subsequent activities on the St. Louis stage.

Beginning with June 17, 1872, opera again made its appearance on the Apollo stage, now called the Apollo Opernhaus. Nathan Waldstine, a local business man, assumed charge of the theatre. He engaged Julius Herrman as stage director, with a company which included as principals: E. Beetz and Theodor Habelmann, tenors, Emil Telle, baritone, Adolp Franosch, Julius Herrmann, W. Koerner and Otto Schüler, bassos, Milles. Sophia

Dziuba, Anna Jäger, Bertha Roemer, primadonnas, and Albertine Hofstetter, second primadonna. Carl Helmar, of the California Stadttheater in San Francisco, and Mlle. Josie Höfl assisted in a number of performances. Opera and operette were sung under Waldstine's management three times weekly, and at times daily, throughout the summer season, concluding October 25, and the winter season beginning November 1. From an artistic standpoint the performances, though not perfect, received the approval of press and public, including the English-speaking public. The principals in these performances were usually praised, but the ensemble work and chorus oftentimes gave ground for criticism. Though attendance was good, it was not sufficient to make the venture a financial success, a fact easily understood in the light of the present day, when deficits must constantly be covered by generous lovers of art or by subsidy. Waldstine therefore retired from the venture, whereupon Theodor Habelmann at once re-engaged the greater part of the ensemble, added to it, and without interruption resumed playing. He formally reopened the theatre under his direction February 11. He too staged exclusively opera and operette till the termination of the season May 30.

Habelmann resumed performances in the Opernhaus June 1 with the change that besides opera an occasional *Lustspiel* was staged. By the end of the summer season (September 28) the German public had grown apathetic toward the opera performances, not without reason, for the same operas had been sung time and again. The opera ensemble therefore left St. Louis for Louisville, where it met with no better financial success than in St. Louis. By February 1 it there incurred a deficit of \$1200, which the Liederkranz of that city guaranteed.

Krüger and Schiller, the lessees of the theatre, thereupon "der Noth gehorchend, nicht dem eigenen Triebe," again assumed charge. They devoted the stage to drama with a company under the directorship of Hannes Lewens. The winter season and the first part of the summer season following (October 5, 1873—July 19, 1874) rarely offered anything better than oft repeated *Lustspiel* and *Posse*, which failed to prove attractive to the public.

The apathy of the public naturally in turn reacted upon the stage. "Der mittlere Bürgerstand, die deutschen Handwerker und Arbeiter sind es, die seit Jahren der hiesigen deutschen Bühne ziemlich kümmerliches Dasein fristen helfen—und Diejenigen, die da stets von schlechten Leistungen sprechen, von nicht mitanzusehenden Vorstellungen, etc., sind mit, nein sind vornehmlich daran Schuld, dass es eben so and nicht besser. Die Misere *vor* der Bühne—die leeren Bänke—erzeugt Misere *auf* der Bühne. Nur des Sonntags pflegen die Vorstellungen (sowohl im Apollo- wie im Olym-pic-Theater) besucht zu sein—und im letzten findet sich eine Anzahl deutscher Familien regelmässig ein—aber gerade das ist eben nur ein Beweis mehr für die Richtigkeit des oben Gesagten. Die mit jedem Jahre zunehmende Zahl der geselligen Vereine bildet gleichfalls einen Hemmschuh für das Prosperiren der Theater. So kommt eins zum Andern und das Facit dieses Rechen-exempels kann sich jeder machen."³⁰

In July a part of the opera company returned to St. Louis. The majority of the performances during the remainder of the summer season beginning July 24, were thereupon devoted to opera under the directorship of Fritz La Fontaine. The repertory offered nothing new. The German press again found it necessary to upbraid the indifferent public. Later in the year Habelmann again reorganized the opera ensemble. It had ceased performing November 15. Habelmann resumed performances in the Apollo on Christmas Day to continue without interruption till June 27. He introduced at least two new operas which had not been heard in the Apollo before—Meyerbeer's *Afrikanerin* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, the latter the first Wagnerian opera to be produced on the German stage in St. Louis; it had, however, previously been sung by a visiting company.

Habelmann's audiences were usually reported fair, but offered ground for complaint. As is evident from the following review containing utterances that are typical of a number of similar editorial utterances, the theatre itself and its environs were responsible for the indifference of part of the public toward the

³⁰ *Anzeiger des Westens*, November 30, 1873.

performances in the Apollo. Entrance to the theatre was apparently through a café connected with the Apollo Garten. "Der dritten Aufführung der *Afrikanerin* am Mittwoch Abend, wohnte ein sehr zahlreiches Publikum bei, und in diesem Umstande erblicken wir, gegenüber der bisher nur zu deutlich bekundeten Apathie der 'höheren Gesellschaft' eine Wendung zum Bessern. Wenn unsere 'feine Welt' es übers Herz bringen könnten, über den lobenswerthen Bestrebungen der Direktion und den Anstrengungen der Mitwirkenden den vielleicht nicht allzu eleganten Eingang zum Theater zu vergessen und vergeben; wenn die Herrschaften mehr darauf denken wollten, dass sie Meyerbeersche Musik zu hören bekommen, und zwar eine seiner grossartigsten Schöpfungen, und sich weniger daran stossen wollten, dass der Dress Circle nicht mit rotem Sammet ausgeschlagen ist (was es übrigens in Ben de Bar's und im Olympic auch nicht)—wenn sie das Opfer brächten, diese Äusserlichkeiten zu übersehen, dann würde die Direktion ihrerseits in den Stand gesetzt werden, dem Publikum mit der Zeit noch Besseres zu bieten und nicht fortwährender Sorge für Aufrechterhaltung eines Kunstinstituts zu kämpfen haben, das ein zahlreiches Deutschthum wie das hiesige so kräftig unterstützen sollte (und könnte), dass die regelmässigsten Einnahmen *mindestens*, nicht aber, wie bislang, Mister Deficit leider eine Hauptrolle zu spielen bekommt."³¹ An attempt had been made to engage the support of the dissenting element of the German public by occasionally staging performances in one of the large theatres on Sundays, but without the desired result. Commenting upon a performance held in De Bar's Opera House a review in the *Anzeiger* for March 21, 1875, said: "Man hätte glauben sollen, dass Diejenigen, die als Entschuldigung oder Rechtfertigung ihres Nichtbesuchens der Oper jahraus jahrein die Mängel des Lokals vorschützen, die gestern gebotene Gelegenheit, die Oper im besten Theatergebäude der Stadt hören zu können, benützt haben und sich in grosser Zahl eingestellt haben würden—fehl geschossen! Von den Herrschaften war keine Spur zu erblicken. . . . Am Sonntag wird die 'Aristokratie'

³¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, June 4, 1875.

so wie so nicht erwartet. Sonntags füllt sich das Haus durch Gewerbtreibende, der sogenannte 'Kleine Geschäftsmann,' der Handwerker und Arbeiter bereitet sich und den Seinen da die beste Erholung, indem er in die Oper geht—und *diese* Besucherklasse zeigt durch ihr regelmässiges Wiederkommen, dass sie Sinn und Geschmack für diese Art Unterhaltung besitzt. . . ."

Of the 944 plays recorded for the Apollo stage from the summer of 1870 till June 27, 1875, excluding the winter season of 1870-71, during which Pelosi had charge of the Apollo Theater, 431 were operas or operettes and 37 *Singspiele*, together about 50% of the total. The *Trauerspiel*, *Schauspiel*, *Volksstück*, *Lustspiel*, and *Posse*, represented respectively 1—, 8+, 17—, 11+, and 14— per cent. of the total.

The Pelosi Directorship 1871-1880.

During the years in which the Apollo Theater was to a large extent being devoted to opera and operette, St. Louis at the same time enjoyed a creditable German theatre under the directorship of Louis Pelosi. As already pointed out Pelosi had charge of the Apollo Theater during the winter season of 1870-71, during which he played three times weekly. He came to St. Louis heralded with a flattering reputation. An editorial announcing his coming said: "Das Apollo Theater hat der Phasen so viele erlebt, die hiesigen deutschen Bühnenverhältnisse haben im Laufe der Jahre alle Stadien des Wohlergehens und Nichtwohlergehens durchgemacht, dass der Hoffnungsanker, der jetzt ausgeworfen wird, von Seiten aller Freunden der Bühne und des deutschen Publikums im Allgemeinen mit doppelter Freude begrüsst werden sollte, da sich im Pelosischen Ehepaare die tüchtige Direktionskraft mit trefflicher Leistungsfähigkeit auf den Brettern vereint und somit dem Hierherkommen des Paares zwiefacher Werth für die hiesigen Theaterverhältnisse beizumessen ist."³² Editorial comment at the end of the season indicates that Pelosi lived up to the reputation which heralded his coming. "Wenn je eine Direktion zu Anerkennung

³² *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 26, 1871.

und Lob berechtigt war, so ist es die gegenwärtige des Apollo Theaters. Herr und Frau Pelosi haben dem alten Schlendrian früherer Jahre ein Ende gemacht und in das Chaos der hiesigen deutschen Bühne Ordnung gebracht."³³ Pelosi raised the standard of the theatre over that which it had been for a number of years. His repertory during the first season included two performances of Schiller's *Räuber*, one of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, one of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, one of Grillparzer's *Medea*, and among other serious dramas two performances each of Brachvogel's *Narciss* and Halm's *Griseldis*. The reviews of the performances for this season are not detailed, but are universally favorable, as illustrated in the following comment upon a mid-season performance, "Die gute Einstudierung der Vorstellungen ist eine der Hauptaufgaben, die sich die Direktion gestellt hat; nach dieser Richtung hin ist ihr Eifer besonders tätig, und das Resultat sind eben gerundete Aufführungen."³⁴ Attendance at his performances was not only consistently good, but included many of the "old guard" who took interest in the theatre only when it from the standpoint of merit warranted recognition. A review of a performance contained in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for April 7, 1872, is typical of a number of editorial utterances substantiating this fact: "Die Freunde der deutschen Bühne hatten sich am Freitag Abend recht zahlreich im Apollo Theater eingefunden, um einer (dritten oder gar vierten) Wiederholung des Benedixschen Lustspiels *Die zärtlichen Verwandten* beizuwohnen. Es war eine seit lange entbehrte Genugthuung für ältere hiesige Theaterfreunde, im Zuschauerraume nicht wenige von jenen deutschen Familien zu erblicken, die zu den Zeiten Börnstein's, Pfeiffer's und Koser's den Kern des Theaterpublikums zu bilden und selten bei einer Vorstellung zu fehlen pflegten; jene Familien, auf die in früheren Jahren die Direktion so zu sagen zählen konnte. Leider ist es jetzt Ausnahme, was damals—wir sprechen von den Jahren 1859 bis 1866—Regel war. Unter einer Direktion wie die Pelosische würden sich allerdings die hiesigen Theaterverhältnisse nach und nach wieder ins rechte Geleise bringen lassen.

³³ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 25, 1872.

³⁴ *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 14, 1872.

. . . Mag die Sommersaison nun bringen was sie will—die Wintersaison brachte sicher und gewiss gar manches Gute und Schöne und vor Allem gerundete, wohl vorbereitete Aufführungen.”

Pelosi for the next eight consecutive winters, with the exception of the season 1876-77, contemporaneous with and for several years following the seasons in which the Apollo was largely devoted to opera, continued to give St. Louis a creditable German stage. During these seasons he performed weekly on Sundays. During the first four and the last of these seasons³⁵ he staged his plays in the Olympic Theatre, during the season of 1877-78 in Ben De Bar's Opera House. Beginning October 3, 1875, while staging Sunday performances in the Olympic, he also performed several times weekly in the Apollo Theater, but discontinued on January 17. The season in the Apollo concluding June 4, beginning March 3 was continued by a company under the directorship of Mme. Solia, to be transferred beginning April 16 to the directorship of Silberberg and Schulz. The Apollo ensemble continued to perform several times weekly, and in addition gave Sunday performances in De Bar's Opera House.

During these years Pelosi's performances continued to merit favorable comment in the columns of the press and to attract audiences which continued to be termed *gewählt*. The tenor of the press comment is that of the excerpts quoted above for the season 1870-71.

The winter of 1876-77 Pelosi spent in Germany. During his absence St. Louis had two theatres. From September 17, 1876, to April 15, 1877, De Bar's Opera House was the home of Sunday performances. The season opened under the management of Silberberg and Company. Beginning with October 22 it continued under the management of Paul Dilg and Company. This Opera House ensemble attempted weekday performances, first in the St. Louis Stadttheater, on Morgan Street, between

³⁵ September 1, 1872, to May 4, 1873; August 31, 1873, to May 3, 1874; September 6, 1874, to April 16, 1875; September 19, 1875, to April 16, 1876; October 21, 1877, to April 21, 1878; September 1, 1878, to May 1, 1879; September 21, 1879, to December 21, 1879.

Tenth and Eleventh, and later in the Apollo Theater. But poor attendance caused the weekday performances soon to be discontinued. During the same winter Alexander Wurster, director of the New Chicago Theater, conducted Sunday performances in the Olympic Theatre from September 24 till May 6, with occasional Sunday and weekly performances in the Apollo.

Members of Wurster's Company continued, under the management of Lewens, during the greater part of the ensuing summer to present *Posse* and *Lustspiel* on Sundays in the Apollo. Beginning with May 27 Carl Schmidt during the same summer directed a summer theatre devoted chiefly to *Posse* and *Lustspiel* in a new theatre erected in Strathmanns La Fayette Park at Second Street and Carondelet Avenue. Performances on this stage were initially given three times weekly. But the public was not responsive to the new enterprise. An editorial of June 17 in commenting upon the poor attendance it received says: "Hier hat man sich die Gleichgiltigkeit, die schon gar Manches zu Grabe tragen half, auch der Sommerbühne gegenüber geltend und zwar in solchem Masse, dass es nach allen Richtungen sehr zu bedauern ist.—So lange im Apollo Theater gespielt wurde, das als Sommertheater nur der grossen Hitze wegen nicht allen Anforderungen entsprach—so weit die Räumlichkeiten in Betracht kommen—wurde das Nichthingehen mit der Lokalität, mit dem Eingang, mit dem Mangel an Eleganz und dergleichen motivirt. Jetzt aber hat ein unternehmender Privatmann im prächtigsten Stadtteile, mitten zwischen Gärten und Bäumen, mittelst Strassenbahn bequem zu erreichen, in nächster Nähe des schönsten Parks der Stadt, ein Sommertheater bauen lassen, das ein wahres Schmuckkästchen ist, in einem Garten steht, und worin *gut* gespielt wird—und wie sieht's nun da mit der 'Unterstützung' aus? —Obgleich wöchentlich nur dreimal gespielt wird . . . so sind die Vorstellungen nur Sonntags angemessen besucht, während an den Wochentagen der Zuschauerraum nur sehr selten gefüllt ist. Und doch sind die Vorstellungen fleissig einstudirt, sorglich vorbereitet—die Gesellschaft ist aus recht tüchtigen Kräften zusammengesetzt—die Regie ruht in fähigen Händen und man darf sich

versichert halten, den Abend auf das Angenehmste zu verbringen, wenn man das Lafayettepark Theater besucht."³⁶

During the latter part of the season the La Fayette Park Theater varied its program by alternating English plays with German performances. An attempt was made during the following summer to again stage German plays in this theatre, but the attempt met with no success; after the middle of July the press gives no further notice of such performances. During the summer of 1879 St. Louis had no summer theatre. During the summer of 1880 an attempt was made to again establish a German stage in the La Fayette Park theatre, now called the Thalia Sommergarten Theater. But after several performances the attempt was given up.

While Pelosi after a year's absence resumed Sunday performances during the winter of 1877-78, this time in De Bar's Opera House, Wurster again as during the winter previously gave Sunday performances in the Olympic (September 16 to April 7). The following winter Pelosi had the field to himself. During the season 1879-80, while he was again playing in the Olympic, his performances suffered competition by a stage instituted by Wilhelm Rieckhoff. Rieckhoff gave performances three times weekly from August 31 till February 27 in the Apollo Theater, which had been remodelled during the course of the preceding summer. At the end of February due to poor attendance he discontinued the weekday performances and played Sundays only from February 29 till April 30, 1880, in Pope's Theatre at Ninth and Ohio Streets. These Sunday performances proved more attractive. The character of Rieckhoff's audience compared favorably with that of Pelosi. In fact Pelosi this season discontinued performances with the end of December and the allegiance which the public had shown his enterprise was transferred to that of Rieckhoff. A review toward the close of the season summarizes the activity of the latter as follows: "Die Rieckhoffsche Gesellschaft hatte uns—wenige vereinzelte Ausnahmen abgerechnet—recht gute Vorstellungen geboten und hatte die Lust an deutschen

³⁶ *Anzeiger des Westens*, June 17, 1877.

Kreisen geweckt, in denen seit lange eine förmliche Apathie gegen die deutsche Bühne geherrscht hatte; die Besetzung der Rollen war in den meisten Fällen eine gute gewesen, die Aufführungen waren sorgfältig vorbereitet, die Ausstattung war—was die Toiletten der Damen anlangt—vorzüglich, mit einem Worte: die Gesellschaft verdient ungeschmälerte Anerkennung für das Geleistete.”³⁷

The year 1880 did not mark the termination of Pelosi's connection with the German theatre in St. Louis. The following year he again appeared on the stage and subsequently was again active as director. But his subsequent directorship falls in a period where the German theatre was handicapped by the want of an adequate home. The year 1880 therefore marks the close of the most successful part of Pelosi's career as director. As reference to the repertory for the period will show (see Appendix), his stage from a literary standpoint ranked far superior to that of his contemporaries.

d. 1880-1891. A Period of Varying Fortune.

Beginning with the year 1880 the English theatres were commencing to be used on Sunday evenings for English performances. The nomadic existence which the German stage in consequence of the want of a permanent home was during the next decade therefore constrained to lead, coupled with frequent changes of management, made the fortune of the German stage during this decade a varying one.

Rieckhoff again staged Sunday performances in Pope's Theatre during the winters of 1880-81 and 1881-82. The first of these two seasons was again a moderate success. The *Anzeiger des Westens* for March 26, 1881, says: “Die diesjährige Theatersaison, welche Herr Rieckhoff unter den glänzendsten Auspizien eröffnete, hat zwar nicht alle Erwartungen erfüllt, welche Direktion und Publikum daran knüpften, aber sie hat doch den Beweis geliefert, dass ein gutes deutsches Theater in St. Louis nicht nur existenzfähig ist, sondern geradezu als ein Bedürfnis betrachtet

³⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 19, 1880.

werden muss." This season Rieckhoff had had the field to himself. The following season (1881-82), however, he had serious competition by performances instituted by Alexander Wurster with a strong ensemble in the Apollo Theater, which had again been rebuilt, and by a number of visiting companies who offered star attractions. The Wurster ensemble usually performed on Sundays in the Grand Opera House. The Rieckhoff ensemble excelled in the *Lustspiel* and the *Konversationsstück*; the Wurster ensemble in *Posse* and *Gesangsstück*.

St. Louis had not for several seasons past adequately supported one good German theatre. It could not support two. Both the enterprise of Wurster and of Rieckhoff therefore terminated abruptly with financial loss to the directors, the former March 16, the latter April 18. Though the season from a financial standpoint had been a failure to both directors, from the standpoint of the standard of attainment reached on the two stages the public had profited by the competition between them. "Die Saison 1881-82 war eine sehr reiche und mannigfache Abwechslung bietende. Wie könnte auch eine Theatersaison nicht reich sein, die uns einen Haase, einen Sonntag, eine Geistinger—der *die minorum gentium*, die als Gäste kamen, gar nicht zu gedenken—brachte? . . . Freilich gingen die beiden Direktoren, die sich bittere Concurrenz machten, darüber elendiglich zu Grunde und ihre hinterlassenen Truppen mussten sich nicht blos in alle Winde zerstreuen, sondern auf dem nicht sehr ungewöhnlichen Wege der Benefizvorstellung zum Theil ihr Fortkommen von hier, zum Theil ihr Hierbleiben ermöglichen. Aber vom Standpunkte der Kunst betrachtet war die Saison, wie gesagt, eine der besten, die wir noch je zu verzeichnen hatten."³⁸

During the summer of 1881 St. Louis had no summer theatre. Contemporaneous, however, with the initial weeks of the performances of the rival stages under the direction of Rieckhoff and Wurster, Victor Sarner from September 22 till November 13, 1881, conducted a Volkstheater in the Tivoli Halle at Fourth and Elm Streets, in which he staged *Lustspiel* and *Posse* several times weekly. During the spring of 1882 he conducted

³⁸ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 30, 1882.

such a Volkstheater in the Apollo (March 5 to May 28), and in August of the same year he made a short-lived attempt to institute a similar theatre in Union Park, Ninth Street and Allen Avenue, which notices such as the following were designed to make attractive: "Ferner kann man während der Vorstellung in aller Gemüthlichkeit sein Glas Bier trinken, eine Cigarre dazu rauchen, Sandwich, etc., verzehren, und sich an den auf der Bühne gebotenen Genüssen ergötzen." This was the last summer in which St. Louis enjoyed a Sommertheater.

On the seventeenth of September, 1882, the Apollo Theater again became the home of an operette and dramatic ensemble under the direction of Louis Genée. The plan to perform four times weekly abruptly culminated October 8. Although the ensemble included first-class talent, including the primadonna Maria König, it failed to gain the recognition of the public. Alwine Heynold, the soubrette of the organization, thereupon attempted to reorganize the theatre under her direction. The attempt netted less than a dozen performances (October 15 to November 26) ere it failed. Beginning with December 3, Victor and Hugo Sarner assumed charge of the Apollo. They played weekly on Sundays. After several performances they dissolved partnership. Hugo Sarner continued the season till May 20, essaying nothing more pretentious than *Posse* and *Lustspiel* which had been staged in St. Louis many times previously. After the fashion of the Volkstheater the performances were usually followed by a "Tanzkränzchen."

During this season while the Apollo was the home of weekly Sunday performances an attempt was made in the interest of a better ensemble and a more varied repertory to constitute a theatrical circuit of the three cities St. Louis, Milwaukee and Chicago. A paragraph taken from the *Anzeiger des Westens* for August 3, 1882, outlines the scheme.

"Das deutsche Theater in St. Louis wird im kommenden Winter unter Direktor Collmers Leitung stehen, der seit ein paar Jahren die Direktion eines der vielen Milwaukeer Theater geführt hat. Die beiden anderen Mitglieder des Direktionstriumvirats, das die Bühnen in St. Louis, Chicago und Milwaukee nach

dem Co-operationsplan 'bewirtschaften' wird, sind Alexander Wurster und Major Isenstein. Alexander der Grosse hat Milwaukee zum Wirkungskreise erkoren, der Major bleibt bei seinen Laren und Penaten, d. h. in Chicago. Die drei Gesellschaften bilden faktisch *cine*; die Mitglieder wurden bald in St. Louis, bald in Chicago oder Milwaukee spielen, wohin immer sie einzeln oder als Ganzes (à la Meiningen) dirigirt werden. Auf diese Weise wird erstlich hier ein möglichst gutes ensemble gesorgt sein, zweitens wird das Repertoire die wünschenswerte, um nicht zu sagen nothwendige Abwechslung bieten und drittens wird der regelmässige Besucher nicht den ganzen Winter (d. h. vom October bis zum April) sich an ein und denselben Gesichtern müde sehen müssen. Das ist auch etwas werth."

Pope's Theatre was the home of the St. Louis performances. The season opened October 8. Performances were given weekly on Sundays. But the scheme failed to work. Disagreement among the directors early in December led to a dissolution. The St. Louis stage gave its last performance December 3.

The following winter the Apollo Theater was not used for German performances. The only German theatre St. Louis could boast of during this season consisted of a series of mediocre performances held on Sundays, from September 23, 1883, to April 27, 1884, under the joint directorship of Pelosi and Hugo Sarner, occasionally in Pope's Theatre, but more often in one or the other Turnhalle.

During the winter of 1884-85 Victor Sarner again assumed charge of the Apollo Theater, making of it a Volkstheater. Performances were given on Sundays from November 9 to May 10. The following winter Pelosi and Hugo Sarner again conducted the Apollo stage. They gave Sunday performances from September 20 to May 2. Though nominally this season not a Volkstheater, the theatre in fact did not amount to more.

During the winter of 1886-87 St. Louis again had no regularly established German theatre. In September Pelosi instituted German performances in the Apollo. His venture soon ended. October 24, Louis Menschke reopened the same theatre with a series of Sunday performances, which continued till the middle of

January, whereupon the theatre was again advertised for rent. April 3 it was again formally reopened, this time by Eduard Schmitz as a Volkstheater. Schmitz concluded the season in May after a half dozen Sunday performances.

While the Apollo was undergoing diverse changes of management, Hugo Sarner from September till April advertised occasional Sunday performances. But his ensemble had no regular home. It played first in one theatre, then in another.

Schmitz continued to conduct Sunday performances in the Apollo during the following four winter seasons (1887-1891). He was destined to be the last of the many directors of the German theatre the Apollo had had. The building was once more used as a German theatre during the season 1891-92, but under the name of Sarner's Theatre. Throughout the four winter seasons, while the Apollo was the home of German drama under Schmitz's direction—principally *Lustspiel* and *Posse*—Hugo Sarner with more or less regularity continued to give Sunday performances first on one, then another stage, usually in the Olympic theatre. Much that he presented was good, much mediocre, but at all events his performances mark an improvement over those in the Apollo during this period.

IV. 1891-1912.

A REVIVAL OF INTEREST. THE GERMANIA THEATER. THE DIRECTORSHIP OF HEINEMAN AND WELB.

The season 1890-91, the season which marks the termination of Schmitz's directorship in the Apollo Theater, for two reasons marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the German theatre in St. Louis. The season marks a decided increase in interest in the German theatre, which two years later was to culminate in the establishment of the Germania Theatre, the first attempt to establish a permanent German theatre in St. Louis to net tangible results since the closure of the St. Louis Opernhaus in 1862. And it marks the introduction of the modern German realistic drama on the St. Louis stage.

March 30, 1890, Hugo Sarner announced in the columns of

the *Anzeiger des Westens* his intention to stage performances in St. Louis twice weekly during the coming winter with an enlarged and improved ensemble. May 5 Hermann Riotte in the same paper outlined elaborate plans for a German theatrical season under his management. Friends of the theatre realized from past experience that three German theatres—including Schmitz's stage in the Apollo—would be more than the German theatre going public could support. They therefore persuaded Sarner and Riotte to join forces. Under their joint directorship Sarner and Riotte, October 19, 1890, opened the season with two simultaneous performances, one an opera performance—*Czaar und Zimmermann*—in the Grand Opera House, designed to attract the English-speaking as well as German-speaking public, the other a performance of Schönthan's *Salonstück Das Letzte Wort* in the Olympic Theatre. The two directors disagreed over the feasibility of continuing German opera in St. Louis and therefore amicably severed partnership October 22. Sarner agreed to withdraw from the field for the rest of the season. Riotte continued to produce both opera and drama till December 8. The opera company had included good individual soloists, but the chorus had been poor. The rest of the season, concluding April 5, was devoted to the drama. Performances were usually given four times weekly throughout the season, first in one, then in another theatre, on weekdays usually in the small auditorium of the Exposition Building at Thirteenth and Olive Streets, on Sundays usually in the Olympic Theatre. Attendance was fair. A new reason this season for the first time gained prominence in the columns of the press in argument for the maintenance of the German theatre, namely, the preservation of the German language to the youth of German parentage. "Hier gilt es zu zeigen, dass uns die Muttersprache lieb und werth, dass sie unser höchstes Gut ist; hier können wir beweisen, dass wir Sinn und Verständniss haben für die deutsche Kunst . . .; hier haben wir auch ein Mittel, bei unsern Kindern, besonders bei denen, die in den Flegel—beziehungsweise Backfischjahren stehen und so gern englisch plappern, die Liebe zur Sprache ihrer Eltern zu wecken."³⁹

³⁹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 19, 1890.

Under the directorship of Riotté Sudermann and Ibsen were for the first time introduced on the German stage in St. Louis. Sudermann's *Die Ehre* was given for the first time on Christmas Day 1890. "Der Eindruck, den das Stück machte, war geradezu grossartig, unbeschreiblich." *Die Ehre* was repeated December 27, January 1 and February 10. The excellencies of the play, above all the characterization the reviewer praised. But it took several years before the reviewer and the public became reconciled to the new realistic drama. Commenting upon the fourth performance of *Die Ehre* the critic wrote: "Allein *Die Ehre* ist vor wenigen Wochen mehrmals hinter einander hier aufgeführt worden, und es ist anzunehmen, dass jeder Theaterfreund, der sie sehen wollte, einer dieser Vorstellungen beigewohnt hat. Andernfalls ist der Inhalt des Stückes derartig, dass er kein reines Geniessen aufkommen lässt, und sich unter gewöhnlichen Umständen gewiss nur wenige entschliessen könnten, es zweimal anzusehen."⁴⁰

Ibsen's *Gespenster* was performed for the first time January 11, 1891. The critic condemned it in no uncertain terms. "Im Olympic Theater ist gestern Abend Heinrich Ibsen's 'Charakterbild' *Die Gespenster* über die Bühne gegangen. Es ist gegangen und hoffentlich kehrt es niemals wieder, das ist der fromme Wunsch, den wir dieser Aufführung nachsicken.—Nach unserer vielleicht veralteten Ansicht gehört dieses Stück des problematischen norwegischen Dichters nicht auf die Bühne. Es ist jeder Poesie bar, entbehrt jedes versöhnenden und befriedigenden Moments, jeder ansprechenden Figur, ist unschön, abgesehen von seiner klaren, knappen, packenden Sprache, und unwahr, weil unnatürlich. . . . Ibsen mag, wie seine Bewunderer sagen, der Dichter des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts sein, weshalb soll aber das neunzehnte Jahrhundert sich von seinen 'Gjengangere' anlügen und anekeln lassen? Ibsen behauptet, das Leben, die Wahrheit zu schildern. Der Reginen, der Engstrands und auch der Manders gibt's im Leben genug, aber ein wirkliches Wesen wie Frau Alving, gibt es zum Glück nicht. Wer ohne Voreingenommen-

⁴⁰ *Anzeiger des Westens*, February 11, 1891.

heit der gestrigen Aufführung beigewohnt hat, wird uns Recht geben, und trotz der vortrefflichen Darstellung war wohl ein jeder froh, als das Stück zu Ende war."⁴¹

The naturalistic French drama elicited the same type of criticism. Of Daudet's *Die beiden Compagnons* the reviewer in the *Anzeiger* for January 19 wrote: "Das Stück gehört zu jener bekannten französischen Ehebruchsdramen, mit denen wir uns nicht recht befreunden können." Benedix continued to prove more acceptable to the audience and to the critic. With reference to *Das bemooste Haupt* the latter on February 9, in the *Anzeiger* wrote: "Das Publikum . . . nahm alles, was zur Vermehrung der Rührung beitragen konnte, dankbar und willig an. Jedenfalls ein erfreulicher Beweis dafür, dass wir im Westen hier Gott sei Dank noch nicht blossirt sind."

The winter of 1891-92 again found the theatre under the directorship of Hugo Sarner. Sarner performed weekly in Sarner's Theatre, formerly the Apollo, now used for the last season for German theatricals, and occasionally in the Olympic Theatre, the Grand Opera House and the Exposition Building. His repertory from a literary standpoint marked a retrogression from that of the winter previous. Aside from a performance of *Othello*, in which Maurice Morrison appeared in the rôle of a star, the repertory offered nothing beyond oft repeated *Volksstücke*, *Lustspiel*, and *Posse*.

The Germania Theater.

Experience had demonstrated that a reputable German theatre could only be possible if it had its own home and was not compelled to journey from Sunday to Sunday from one theatre to another, as had in recent years been the case. For the English theatres had begun during the past decade to utilize their respective stages for English drama on Sunday evenings, making it impossible to find a suitable stage for German drama. To the end of establishing a permanent German theatre meetings had been held. July 14, 1891, fourteen prominent Germans finally formed an organization which incorporated as the "German Dra-

⁴¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 12, 1891.

matic Association." These fourteen stockholders were: S. H. Leathe, William J. Lenip, Chas. G. Stifel, Chas. F. Orthwein, A. Griesediech, Geo. D. Capen, John C. Nulsen, J. H. Conrades, G. Cramer, Ad. Böckeler, A. Moll, H. Duncker, Geo. J. Fritz and William Schreiber. They bought an old Presbyterian Church at Fourteenth Street and Lucas Place, which they had remodelled and termed the Germania Theater. The building equalled in elegance the former Opernhaus of Börnstein's day.

Under the most favorable auspices the theatre was opened on the fourth of September with a large ensemble, under the direction of Carl Waldemar and Ed. C. Buechel. Its list of subscribers for the season included the most prominent Germans of the city. Shakespeare's *Wintermärchen* was staged at the initial performance. The interest manifested by the public in the new theatre is attested by the controversy which was waged by contributors to the columns of the press concerning the propriety of the selection of a play in keeping with the occasion. Waldemar therefore felt himself obliged to justify his choice in a communication published in the *Anzeiger* for August 21, 1892, in which he says in part:

"Ich bin selbst sehr lange mit dem Gedanken umgegangen, das deutsche Theater mit einem Stücke deutschen Ursprungs zu eröffnen. Hierfür können naturgemäss nur Goethe, Schiller oder Lessing in Betracht kommen. Gute Lustspiele haben aber diese unsere Dichter-Heroen, mit Ausnahme vielleicht (?) von Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, welches Stück für eine Festvorstellung indess viel zu einfach, nicht; und das neue Bühnenhaus mit einem Drama zu eröffnen, dazu konnte ich mich erst recht nicht entschliessen. Ausserdem kommen bei einer Eröffnungs-Vorstellung noch so viele andere Factoren in Betracht, von denen der Laie absolut nichts weiss, nichts wissen kann, mit denen wir indessen höchst bedeutsam zu rechnen haben, dass schon aus solchen Gründen unsere Wahl nur zu berechtigt erscheinen muss. Es handelt sich bei der Eröffnung des neuen Theaters zur Hauptsache auch darum, das gesammte Bühnenpersonal dem Publikum im günstigsten Lichte, d. h. in guten Rollen vorzuführen.— Das ist der Fall im *Wintermärchen*. . . . Hier sind ca. 15

gute Rollen, in denen meine Mitglieder ihre Leistungsfähigkeit bethätigen können. Ferner kann ich die grossartigsten Decorations-Effekte hier zu Geltung bringen; grosse Massen-Scenen, blendende Costüme, wie eine herrliche, zum *Wintermärchen* eigens componirte Musik tragen weiter das Ihrige zum Gelingen des Ganzen in schönster Weise bei, kurzum, es muss um jeden Preis mit der Erst-Aufführung in jeder Beziehung ein voller Erfolg erzielt werden und deshalb eben wählte ich für diese Shakespeare's *Wintermärchen*."

He then cites Schlegel's estimate of the play and concludes by finding a precedent for his selection in that the new "Wiener Hofburg Theater" was opened under the direction of Dr. August Förster with the same Shakespearian drama.

Performances during this season were give four or five times weekly, concluding May 28. In addition to the performances given in St. Louis, the ensemble played fifteen times in Chicago, nine times in Belleville, eight times in Omaha, six times in Kansas City, and twice in St. Joseph and in Peoria. From a financial standpoint the season ended with a deficit, due largely to a loss of \$3000 incurred on the visit of the company to Chicago, where the poor location of the theatre and bad weather combined to keep down the patronage.

From a literary standpoint the stage during this season ranked high. Of 121 plays performed during the season 30 possessed recognized literary quality. The repertory included two performances each of Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's *Wintermärchen*, and one performance each of Goethe's *Egmont*, Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, *Don Carlos*, *Fiesco*, *Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Kabale und Liebe*, *Maria Stuart*, *Piccolomini*, *Räuber*, and *Wallenstein's Lager*, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilie Galotti*, Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Romeo und Julie*, und *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung*, Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*, Kleist's *Käthchen von Heilbronn*, Laube's *Graf Essex*, Raimund's *Verschwender*, and Wildenbruch's *Quitow's*. Of the realistic drama Ibsen's *Stützen der Gesellschaft* and Wildenbruch's *Haubenlerche* were each presented once, Sudermann's *Die Ehre* and *Die Heimat* each twice.

The realistic drama failed, still, to gain the approval of the critic. Judging from the limited number of repetitions such plays received, they were not yet in favor with the public.

Alexander Wurster was engaged to direct the theatre for the next three years. With practically a new ensemble he opened the first season September 17, 1893. It concluded April 22. The second lasted from September 23 till April 21. He opened the third season September 29, and again, as during the two years previous, he played thrice weekly. He exerted every effort to make the theatre a success. But the time chosen to establish a German theatre in St. Louis, as the sequel of events showed, was inopportune. The first season in the Germania had ended with a deficit. During the first four weeks under Wurster's management the income had amounted to no more than one-half the expense of the enterprise. By the middle of the third season under his management Wurster was constrained to give up the directorship. He ascribed the non-success of the theatre primarily to the growing indifference on a large part of the German public toward German performances. In a curtain speech made on the evening of January 19, in which he announced his withdrawal from the stage, he said in part:

“Es ist hart und bitter für meine selbstlosen und edlen Bestrebungen, am Ende meines arbeitsvollen Lebens angelangt, einsehen und beklagen zu müssen, dass das Interesse am deutschen Theater immer mehr erkaltet und der Geschmack unserer heranwachsenden Jugend sich lieber den amerikanischen Schaustellungen zuwendet.

“Viele der treuesten Anhänger meines Unternehmens hat seit meinem Hiersein der Tod ereilt, andere sind durch irgend welche Beeinflussungen fortgeblieben, wieder andere haben sich vielleicht durch irgend ein unbesonnenes Wort meinerseits beleidigt gefühlt, andere müssen in ihre Vereinsversammlungen, Clubs und Logen und wieder andere sind zu alt und zu bequem geworden oder spielen Skat und trinken Bier dazu, und neue Freunde und Gönner hat das Unternehmen leider nur wenige gefunden.

“ . . . Ich scheide mit dem Bewusstsein, Alles versucht und getan zu haben, was in meinen Verhältnissen nur möglich war, um ein Unternehmen am Leben zu halten, welches mit Treue und Liebe geleitet und welches ich jetzt mit tiefem Schmerze und Wehmuth in andere Hände übergeben lassen muss.”⁴²

The fact that St. Louis today still maintains interest in German drama sufficient to support a permanent company would indicate that much of the financial non-success of the Germania Theatre during these years was due to the financial panic which swept the country in 1893.

In order to insure a continuation of the theatrical season a number of friends of the German drama immediately at a meeting presided over by Dr. Emil Preetorius, organized the Germania Theater Verein. Membership in the association merely implied that the member pledged himself to subscribe to a certain number of performances for the rest of the season. The Verein rented the Germania Theater and engaged the ensemble which had been playing under Wurster, for three months. Oscar Teuscher, a member of the company, was engaged as stage manager. Under this arrangement the season was successfully brought to a conclusion April 24, 1896, whereupon the Theater Verein, having fulfilled its purpose, ceased to be.

At the close of the season a new Germania Theater Verein was at once organized, with the purpose of again insuring a German theatre in the Germania for the coming season. May 22, 1896, St. Louis was visited by a devastating tornado which left in its wake damage to property and real estate amounting to more than \$10,000,000. The section of the city where those dwelt upon whom the German theatre depended for its patronage was the section most affected by the storm. The owners of the Germania Theater, which had not proved a paying financial investment, therefore saw no bright prospects for a successful German theatrical season for the ensuing winter. Inasmuch as the

⁴² *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 20, 1896.

Theater Verein had made no definite request for the building by the end of June, the owners at that time rented it to a theatrical manager who purposed to use it for English performances. The Germania Theater Verein in a meeting June 29 therefore decided, inasmuch as it could find no theatre available for German performances, not to institute a German stage under its auspices during the coming season, but to keep its organization intact with a view to again becoming active in the future.

During the season of 1896-97 St. Louis was not, however, to be without a German theatre. Richard Stolte, beginning with October 11 staged plays weekly on Sundays in one of several auditoriums, usually in the New Century Theatre at Ninth and Olive Streets or in the Olympic. But the season was in no sense a success. It marked a decided retrogression. The repertory contained little other than time-worn *Volksstück*, *Lustspiel* and *Posse*. Ibsen's *Nora oder ein Puppenheim* was presented once, but not without changing the muchly criticized conclusion of the play, whereby the director won the approval of the press critic, who wrote:

“Bei der Leichtigkeit, mit welcher die jungen Leute heutzutage, wenn sie kaum die Kinderschuhen entwachsen sind, in die Ehe hinein und sehr häufig auch wieder hinauszuspringen pflegen, darf man sich wohl gestehen, dass ernste Betrachtungen über den Gegenstand wohl angebracht sind und Ibsen's erschütterndes Seelengemälde manches gute bewirken kann, ohne dass man allen Ansichten und Folgerungen des Verfassers beizupflichten braucht.—Direktor Stolte hat, wohl aus Mitleid für sein Publikum, den Schluss eigenmächtig abgeändert und liess durch Vermittlung der Kinder eine Versöhnung der Ehegatten anbahnen. Die starren Ibsenverehrer werden darüber wohl die Hände über den Kopf zusammenschlagen und über Inconsequenz zetern. Wir aber sind der Ansicht, dass Inconsequenz eine sehr menschliche Eigenschaft ist und sogar bei Frauen hier und da vorkommt. Deshalb nehmen wir es Nora nicht übel, wenn sie sich durch den Anblick ihrer Kinder zur Umkehr bewegen lässt, und stehen in

diesem Falle auf Seiten des menschenfreundlichen Direktors gegen den starrköpfigen Dichter."⁴³

Part of the epilog composed by the journalist E. D. Kargau, for many years a staunch supporter of the German stage in St. Louis, which was spoken by Director Stolte at the concluding performance of the season, March 21, will serve to summarize the season's activities.

“Die deutsche Kunst besass nach langer Bitte
Ein eignes Heim, das leider sie verlor.
—Nun zieht umher sie nach Nomadensitte,
Ein obdachloses Kind, von Thor zu Thor.—
Der Thespiskarren war stets auf der Reise
In ruhelosem Zug bald hier, bald dort.
Und kommt zu früh er jetzt aus dem Geleise,
So ist's nicht unsre Schuld, glaubt mir's aufs Wort.

“Dazu der schwere Druck der schlechten Zeiten,
War's doch ein böses Jahr für's ganze Land—
Bei der politischen Parteien Streiten
Hat ja die Kunst stets einen schweren Stand.—
Wo Handel und Gewerbe liegt darnieder
Wird selbst ein üpp'ger Boden unfruchtbar.
Vom Reif getroffen blüht sobald nicht wieder,
Was einst des Gartens schönste Zierde war.

“Zum Hemmschuh ward der Kunst bescheidnem Hoffen
Noch Anderes im letzt' verfloss'nen Jahr—
Sie wird sogar vom Wirbelsturm betroffen,
Wenn zwar auch nicht direkt, doch mittelbar.—
Gar mancher, der in frühern Zeiten gerne,
So oft gespielt ward, ins Theater kam,
Blieb ihm in diesem Winter gänzlich ferne,
Weil der Tornado ihm sein Alles nahm.

⁴³ *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 18, 1896.

“Und wie sich so die Hindernisse türmten
Blieb, selbstverständlich, der Erfolg auch aus;
Wenn abends gar noch Schnee und Regen stürmten,
Da spielten oft wir vor halbleerem Haus.—
Ihr werdet drum es für begreiflich halten,
Dass die Saison so früh schon kommt zum Schluss—
Wir weichen gleichsam höheren Gewalten,
Denn zu gehorchen zwingt das harte ‘Muss’.”⁴⁴

Stolte the following season again attempted a German stage in St. Louis, this time in the former Broadway Theatre, a small theatre on South Broadway, between Market and Walnut Streets. The season opened September 23. An attempt was made to play daily. The enterprise met with little response on the part of the public, therefore abruptly came to a conclusion October 25. After several benefit performances following Stolte's withdrawal from the theatre, the building became the home of English vaudeville.

The next two seasons the Germania Theatre was again the home of German drama. The first of these seasons the theatre was under the able stage direction of Georg Heinemann, who gave performances twice weekly from October 2, 1898, till April 16, 1899. From an artistic standpoint the season was a success. But financially it ended with a deficit. Though the German Dramatic Association, the owners of the theatre, made deductions from the amount of rental the contract with Heinemann called for, the latter claimed to have personally lost \$800 in the venture, aside from receiving no salary. He therefore refused to resume charge of the Germania Theater the following season.

The season in the Germania during the winter of 1899-1900 was made possible by a guarantee fund subscribed to by generous individuals. With the help of this fund Mme. Anna Frandsch-Diel (of Cleveland) agreed to assume charge of the Germania. She opened the season October 1 and performed two and three times weekly till April 1. The season was only a moderate suc-

⁴⁴ *Anzeiger des Westens*, March 22, 1897.

cess. The ensemble for the season was limited. Mme. Frandsch could not therefore stage serious drama nor carry out her avowed intention to introduce modern plays. Aside from one performance each of Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Fulda's *Die Sklavin* and *Die wilde Jagd*, and Wilbrandt's *Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius*, her stage offered nothing of literary importance.

The Germania Theater for the following two years was again the home of an English stage.

While Mme. Frandsch was staging German drama in the Germania, Heinemann regularly conducted performances with a separate ensemble in the Olympic Theatre on Sundays from October 8 till April 22. The season was from the standpoint of attainment a success. The *Westliche Post* for April 23, 1900, summarizes it in the following eulogistic terms:

"*Summa cum laude!* Mit diesem in der gestrigen Schlussaufführung der Heinemannschen Theatergesellschaft im Olympic so oft gebrauchten Ausdrücke möchten wir die letzte Saison charakterisieren—d. h. nur so weit die Leistungen auf der Bühne in Betracht kommen. Wohl hat die Direktion in der Auswahl der aufzuführenden Stücke gelegentlich einen Missgriff gemacht, doch lässt sich daraus kaum ein Vorwurf für sie schmieden. . . . Die aufzuführenden Stücke waren durchweg gut einstudiert, hübsch inszeniert und gingen flott über die Bretter. Das Ensemble war stets tadellos und die Hauptkräfte derselben lieferten uns Leistungen, die weit über das Durchschnittsmass hinausgingen und den Theaterbesuchern noch lange eine angenehme Erinnerung bilden werden.—Leider kann dem deutschen Publikum nicht dasselbe gute Zeugnis ausgestellt werden. Es waren fast Sonntag für Sonntag die alten Gesichter zu sehen, und manche Vorstellung, besonders in den letzten Wochen, war sehr dürftig besucht. Unter diesen Umständen ist es, was Direktion und Künstler betrifft, doppelt anerkennenswert, dass die Saison, welche in finanzieller Beziehung kein 'glänzender Erfolg' war, überhaupt durchgeführt wurde."

The following season (October 7, 1900, till April 21, 1901) Heinemann staged Sunday performances in the Olympic, this

time under joint direction with Ferdinand Welb, who had for years been director of the Pabst Theater in Milwaukee. Before the opening of the season the Theater Verein was again brought to life. Its members paid but a small monthly due, for which they received the privilege of reduction in price of admission to the theatre on condition that they buy a certain number of tickets per month. This Theater Verein continues to exist today. It has since its organization been an important factor in the support of the German theatre in St. Louis. Its purpose is not only to help the German theatre, but also to provide for its members social gatherings of one sort or another from time to time, including the summer months, when these social features have frequently assumed the nature of picnics and boat excursions.

During the season of 1901-1902 and 1902-1903 Heinemann and Welb played twice weekly in the Germania Theater, and as during the season 1900-1901, once weekly in Belleville. The end of the season 1902-1903 marked the termination of the Germania Theater. The building had not been a financial success as a German theatre; its owners therefore disposed of it. It has since that time been the home of an English stage. Under the name of the Gayety Theatre it is at the present time the home of English vaudeville.

The German drama therefore had to seek a new home. Beginning with the season 1903-1904 the Odeon, an auditorium seating two thousand, centrally located at Grand and Finney Avenues, became the home of German drama. With the exception of the season 1904-1905, when Heinemann and Welb utilized the Olympic Theatre on Sunday evenings for their stage, the Odeon continued to be the regular home of the German drama till the opening in 1913 of the present Victoria Theater.

The joint directorship of Heineman and Welb of the German stage in St. Louis continued till Heinemann's death, February 2, 1908. Welb, who had been stage manager while Heinemann assumed charge of the business phases of the directorship, then continued as sole director till his death, October 2, 1910. Mme. Welb assumed charge of the theatre after her husband's de-

mise and under her directorship brought the season of 1910-1911 to a conclusion. Since 1911 Hans Loebel, the present director of the Victoria Theater, has been in charge of the German stage in St. Louis.

The history of the German stage under the directorship of Heinemann and Welb after the termination of the Germania Theater and during the seasons of 1910-11 and 1911-12 was one of even tenor. Performances were given regularly on Sunday evenings from October till April or May. Attendance was fair. The season of 1905-1906 ended with a small deficit. But usually the theatre was a financial success without the aid of subsidy or guarantee. In several instances it became necessary to forestall an impending deficit by exhortation to better attendance in the columns of the press and in speeches before the curtain in the theatre. In such instances the public responded promptly. Throughout these years an unusually cordial relation existed between the directorship and the members of the ensemble and the public, as reflected in press comment from time to time. The press always granted liberal space to a review of the plays which, as far as the dramatic presentation was concerned, were almost universally complimentary, though it took several years after the introduction of the realistic drama before the reviewer began to comment upon them in a conciliatory tone.

V. 1911-1914.

THE PRESENT DIRECTORSHIP. THE VICTORIA THEATER.

When the Germania Theater was permanently closed to the German drama in 1903, those most interested in the continuance of the German stage at once began to formulate plans for the building of a new theatre. The plans slowly materialized. In the course of time the Deutscher Theaterbau-Gesellschaft was organized. In order to interest as many Germans as possible in the theatre it was planned not to allow a few men to build and own the new theatre and therefore to control its destiny, but to issue stock at ten dollars per share to as many individuals as possible.

Initially the capital stock of the Theaterbau-Gesellschaft was fixed at \$75,000. On the first of April, 1907, one-half of this total was called in. Immediately a building site was purchased on which to erect the proposed theatre. But it soon became manifest that a larger capital stock would be needed in order to insure a theatre of any consequence. The venture then dragged until the spring of 1912, when the directorate of the building association again brought the project before the public. The association voted to increase its capital stock and commenced building operations at once. The building, located on the north side of Delmar Boulevard, west of Grand Avenue, was completed at a cost of about \$150,000, owned by between 500 and 600 stockholders. At the time the building was opened the Board of Directors was made up of the following men of prominence: Leo Rassieur, President; Edward Westen, Vice-President; J. A. Valentin Schmidt, Secretary; Henry Heil, Treasurer; Edward L. Preetorius, John R. Payten, Hans Loebel, Frank W. Feuerbacher, Jacob D. Goldman, Hans Hackel, Frank Tombridge, Fred Widman and Henry Walk.

The new theatre—the Victoria Theatre—was formally opened March 1, 1913, under the artistic directorship of Hans Loebel, who had opened the season October 6, 1912, in the Odeon, where, as pointed out above, he had also directed the German stage in 1911-1912. At this opening performance Goethe's *Faust* was given. Mlle. Käte Herbst, leading lady of the Papst Theater in Milwaukee, and C. G. Ackermann, of the Deutsches Theater in New York, appeared in the rôles of Gretchen and Mephistopheles, respectively, assisted in the other parts by members of the local stock company.

The Victoria Theater under Loebel's direction has been an artistic success. The season 1912-1913, concluding April 24, ended with a small deficit. The season 1913-1914 (October 5 till May 10) ended with a deficit of approximately \$12,000. These deficits were readily made up by subscription among the more enthusiastic supporters of the German stage. As the deficits indicate, the German theatre does not receive support from

the German element at large in St. Louis in the measure it deserves. But the relative smallness of the deficits, compared with those of New York, Milwaukee, and other places, speaks well for the extent of interest in the German drama that still does exist in the city. At present German performances continue to be given in the Victoria Theatre once weekly on Sunday evenings throughout the season from October till May. In addition to these performances a half dozen mid-week performances have for several seasons past been given in other auditoriums under the auspices of the "Kunstbienen," an organization of German women interested in the furtherance of German art and culture. These mid-week performances have been devoted principally to the modern realistic drama.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ For the repertory of the German stage under Hans Loebel's directorship, see Appendix.

APPENDIX.

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SEVERAL STAGES.

For comparative purposes the statistical survey of the several stages for the various periods in the history of the German drama on the St. Louis stage is arranged in tabulated form. Under Table A I, A II, etc., are recorded the relative number of authenticated performances for different types of plays and the percentage of plays of a given type performed on a particular stage compared to the total number of plays performed on that stage. In order to indicate the relative literary value of the several stages the plays of the authors who receive recognition in the annals of German literary history are tabulated separately in Table B I, B II, etc.

I. 1842-1859.

THE BEGINNINGS.

In the instance of the Volkstheater a number of stages during the period in the history of the German drama on the St. Louis stage ending with the establishment of the St. Louis Opernhaus at times announced performances without giving the title of plays to be staged. Moreover, as protests in the newspaper columns indicate, in some instances titles of plays were changed *ad libitum*, making it impossible, inasmuch as the casts of characters were not printed, to identify such plays. In several instances extant records present slight gaps (*cf. Preface*) and therefore do not permit reconstruction of the repertory of the contemporary theatres with completeness. Statistical information contained in the tables for this period is therefore based upon repertories which are representative, but cannot represent scientific accuracy.

TABLE A I.

Abbreviations: LT—all Liebhabertheater antedating the Philodramatische Gesellschaft (-Ph). TH—Turnhalle 1857-1859. B—Benrodt-Bötzow. W—Hermann-Wolff. K1—Klün-der, including performances by his company after he resigned

management. R—Ruedi's Volksgarten, including performances November 21, 1860, to March 31, 1861. St—St. Louis Stadttheater. Fl—Flora Garten. Ap—Apollo Garten. VT—all Volkstheater performances, except R, St, Fl, Ap. Av—average percentage for all plays recorded for the period of the beginnings. In this and subsequent tables figures in left-hand columns indicate number of performances, those in right-hand column percentages.

	LT	Ph	TH	B	W	Kl.
Trauerspiel	23:14—	1:01—	1:01—	3:04	2:03—	1:01—
Schauspiel, Drama . .	43:25+	4:07+	7:12—	17:23—	22:28—	19:21—
Volksstück, Charakter-						
gemälde, etc. . . .	9:05+	4:07+	4:07—	8:11—	10:13—	12:13+
Lustspiel	59:35—	27:50	22:37—	21:28	15:19—	17:18+
Posse, Schwank, etc..	24:14+	15:28—	18:30	23:24—	19:24+	36:39+
Singspiel, Vaude-						
ville, etc.	11:07—	2:04—	8:13+	3:04	9:11+	6:07—
Operette	1:01—	1:01—	0: 0	0: 0	2:03—	1:01—
Total	170:	54:	60:	75:	79:	92:

	R	St	Fl	Ap	VT	Total Av.
Trauerspiel	2:01—	0: 0	4:02+	2:02+	1:01—	40:03—
Schauspiel, Drama . .	56:16—	13:13—	27:14—	15:16+	27:10+	250:02—
Volksstück, Charakter-						
gemälde, etc.	53:15—	4:04—	19:10—	13:14—	26:10—	162:10+
Lustspiel	137:38+	34:34—	76:38+	14:15+	90:34+	430:28—
Posse, Schwank, etc. .	86:24+	37:37—	68:34+	44:47+	102:42+	554:04—
Singspiel, Vaude-						
ville, etc.	22:06+	6:06—	5:03—	5:05+	15:06—	92:06—
Operette	1:01—	7:07—	0: 0	0: 0	3:01+	16:01—
Total	357:	101:	199:	93:	264:	1544:

TABLE B I.

(Abbreviations as in Table A I. Figures indicate number of times performed.)

GOETHE: *Clavigo* LT1, *Faust* B1, St1, Fl1. SCHILLER: *Kabale und Liebe* LT4, TH2, B1, R1, Fl1, *Maria Stuart* LT1, *Die Räuber* LT5, W1, KL3, R2, VT1, *Wallensteins Lager* W1, *Wallensteins Tod* LT3, *Wilhelm Tell* LT4, B2, W1, Kl1, R3.

LESSING: *Minna von Barnhelm* * 1. SHAKESPEARE: *Hamlet* LT1, R1, *Der Kaufmann von Venedig* LT5, W1, *Macbeth* LT5, *Othello* LT3, *Romeo und Julie* R1, *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung*** LT1, Ph2, TH2, B1, R4, St2, Fl4, VT2. GRILLPARZER: *Die Ahnfrau* LT2, Kl2. GUTZKOW: *Das Urbild der Tartüffe* TH1, *Uriel Acosta* B1, W1, Fl2, Ap1, VT1, *Zopf und Schwert* Ap1. KOERNER: *Die Braut* VT1, *Hedwig, die Banditenbraut* LT2, B3, St3, Fl2, VT3, *Das Käthchen von Heilbron* LT1, B1, R2, St1, Fl1, *Kriegers Heimkehr* R3, *Der Nachtwächter* LT1, TH1, B1, R1, VT1, *Toni* LT1, R1, *Zriny* LT2, W1. LAUBE: *Graf Essex* Ap1, *Die Karlsschüler* Ap1, VT2, *Prinz Friedrich* Ap1. RAIMUND: *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind* W3, Kl1, R3, *Der Bauer als Millionär* Ap2, *Der Verschwender* Ph3, W2, Kl1, St1, Fl1, Ap2.

II. 1859-1861.

THE ST. LOUIS OPERNHAUS.

Extant records for the performances from April 21 to October 19, 1860, are incomplete (*cf. Preface*). The reconstructed repertory for the Opernhaus is, however, practically complete, for fifteen of the theatrical performances for the period between April 21 and October 19 are accounted for, and it was during this period that the performances of the Colson and the New Orleans opera companies, of the Siegrist-Zamfretta corps de ballet and of the concert company of Anna Bishop alternated with the German theatrical performances.

*Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* was performed on February 18, 1857, at a "klassischer Bühnen-Abend," arranged by Börnstein to celebrate the organization of the "Deutsches Institut für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Gewerbe." The program, carried out by an ensemble made up of the best talent on Wolff's stage and former members of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, was made up of the Overture to Weber's *Freischütz*, a prologue composed and spoken by Börnstein, Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont*, a scene from *Egmont*, the Overture to Mozart's *Zauberflöte*, a scene from *Kabale und Liebe*, Weber's Overture to *Oberon*, and *Minna von Barnhelm*.

**Usually given in Holbein's version, *Die bezähmte Widerspenstige*.

TABLE A II.

Trauerspiel	36:11+
Schauspiel, Drama	54:20+
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	36:13+
Lustspiel	37:14—
Posse, Schwank, etc.*	100:37+
Singspiel, Vaudeville, etc.	6:02+
Total	269:

TABLE B II.

GOETHE: Egmont 1, Faust 4, Götz 1. SCHILLER: Don Karlos 2, Fiesco 2, Jungfrau von Orleans 1, Kabale und Liebe 3, Maria Stuart 2, Die Räuber 2, Wallensteins Tod 4, Wilhelm Tell 1. SHAKESPEARE: Hamlet 3, Kaufmann von Venedig 1, Lear 1, Macbeth 1, Othello 2, Romeo und Julie 1. GUTZKOW: Das Urbild der Tartüffe 1. LAUBE: Graf Essex 1, Die Karlsruher Schüler 1, Montrose, der schwärze Markgraf 3, Prinz Friedrich 1. RAIMUND: Der Barometermacher 24, Der Verschwender 2.

III. 1861-1891.

A. 1861-1867. A New Era Begins. The Directorship of Wilhelm Koser.

B. 1867-1870. An Uneventful Period of Decline.

TABLE A III AB.

Abbreviations: A—Pfeiffer directorship May 18 to October 21, 1862; B—Rosinski-Föllger-Böttner directorship June 1 to August 24, 1862; C—Koser directorship 1862-1867; D—Lewen's directorship May 21 to September 24, 1865; E—Föllger directorship May 3 to August 17, 1866; F—the Apollo stage 1867-1870.

*Including 24 performances of Raimund's *Barometermacher*, and 17 performances of *Der Zauberschleier*, adapted from Scribe by Told.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Trauerspiel	0:0	0:0	46:05—	3:02+	4:04	27:03—
Schauspiel, Drama ...	22:21+	1:03—	184:19+	29:21—	15:13—	107:11—
Volksstück, Charakter-						
gemälde, etc.	5:05—	4:11—	145:15+	16:11—	24:21—	145:14+
Lustspiel	49:47+	10:26+	236:25—	47:31+	28:24—	224:22+
Posse, Schwank, etc..	28:27—	23:61—	232:25—	41:28—	27:23+	316:31+
Singspiel, etc.	0:0	0:0	55:06—	12:08+	10:09—	84:08+
Oper, Operette	0:0	0:0	47:05—	0:0	9:08—	115:11+
Total	104:	38:	945:	148:	117:	1018:

C. 1870-1880. Opera on the Apollo Stage 1870-1875. The Pelosi Directorship 1871-1880.

D. 1880-1891. A Period of Varying Fortune.

TABLE A III CD.

Abbreviations: G—the Apollo stage, summer 1870 to June 22, 1875, exclusive of the winter season 1870-1871, during which Pelosi had charge of the Apollo stage; H—the Pelosi directorship 1871-1880; I—German performances in De Bar's Opera House 1876-1877; J—performances under Wurster's directorship 1876-1878; K—the Rieckhoff directorship 1879-1882; L—Wurster's directorship 1881-1882; M—Pelosi-Sarner directorship 1883-1884; N—the Apollo under Schmitz 1887-1891; X—all performances for the period 1861-1891 not included under the above headings; T—total number of performances; Av—average percentage for all plays recorded for the period 1861-1891.

	G	H	I	J	K	L
Trauerspiel	10:01—	12:03+	1:02—	3:04+	5:03—	0:0
Schauspiel, Drama ..	78:08+	59:15+	6:12—	8:11+	15:08—	7:13—
Volksstück, Charakter-						
gemälde, etc.	150:17—	69:18+	17:33+	20:28+	32:17—	12:22—
Lustspiel	107:11+	97:25+	9:18—	20:28+	61:32+	21:36+
Posse, Schwank, etc..	131:14—	138:36+	7:13+	19:27—	49:26—	12:22—
Singspiel, etc.	37:04—	1:01—	7:13+	1:01+	10:05+	0:0
Oper, Operette	431:47+	5:01+	4:08—	0:0	18:09+	3:05+
Total	944:	381:	51:	71:	190:	55:

	M	N	X	T Av.
Trauerspiel	3:10+	1:01—	9:02—	124:03—
Schauspiel, Drama	1:03+	32:17+	46:10—	610:13—
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	3:10+	47:26—	88:18+	777:16+
Lustspiel	8:28—	14:08—	110:23—	1041:22—
Posse, Schwank, etc.	14:48+	72:39+	189:39+	1298:27+
Singspiel, etc.	0: 0	2:01+	16:03+	235:05—
Oper, Operette	0: 0	15:08+	21:04	668:14+
Total	29:	183:	479:	4753:

TABLE B III.

(Abbreviations as in Table A III, a, b, c, d.)

GOETHE: *Clavigo* F2, *Egmont* F1, G3, H1, *Faust* C4, E1, F1, J1, *Iphigenie* X2. SCHILLER: *Die Braut von Messina* C5, F1, H1, *Don Carlos* C1, F1, K1, *Fiesco* C1, D1, *Jungfrau von Orleans* C5, F1, H1, K1, M1, *Kabale und Liebe* C2, F1, G2, J1, X1, *Maria Stuart* C3, E1, F2, H1, K1, M1, *Die Räuber* C9, D1, F3, G1, H3, K1, N1, X1, *Wallensteins Lager* C2, F2, H1, *Wallensteins Tod* C1, *Wilhelm Tell* C4, F2, H4, N1, X1. GOZZI (SCHILLER): *Turandot* F2. LESSING: *Emilia Galotti* D1, *Nathan der Weise* C1, L1, X1. SHAKESPEARE: *Hamlet* C4, F5, H1, K1, *Kaufmann von Venedig* C3, G1, X3, *Die Komödie von Irrungen* N1, *Die lustige Weiber von Windsor* D1, *Macbeth* F1, *Othello* C1, F3, G1, J1, X1, *Richard III* C1, *Romeo und Julie* C1, D1, F1, *Ein Sommernachtstraum* F1, *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung* C1, F3, H1, L1, K1, *Ein Wintermärchen* C5. ANZENGRUBER: *Der Herrgottschnitzer von Ammergau* N2, *Herz und Hand* J2, *Der Meineidbauer* G6, K1, N1, *Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld* G3, N1. FREYTAG: *Graf Waldemar* K1, *Die Journalisten* F1, H1, K1, *Die Valentine* C1, K1. GEIBEL: *Brunhild* X1. GRILLPARZER: *Medea* C2, H2, M1. GUTZKOW: *Der dreizehnte November* C1, *Der Königsleutnant* C2, E2, F2, L1, K2, *Richard Savage* D1, *Das Urbild des Tartüffe* D3, K1, *Uriel Acosta* C6, G1, I1, N1, *Zopf und Schwerdt* C2, E1, G1, H1, K1. HEBBEL: *Genoveva* C3, F2, G1, N2. KLEIST: *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* C3, F2, G3, H1, K1, N3. LAUBE: *Böse Zungen* F4, H4, *Graf Essex* C3, D1, E1, F2, H2, *Die Karlschüler* A1, C5, H3, X1, *Montrose* X1, *Prinz Friedrich* G3. RAIMUND: *Der*

Alpenkönig C3, F1, Der Barometermacher G7, Der Bauer als Millionär C5, F1, Der Verschwender C4, D2, E1, F4, G4, I1, X1.

IV. 1891-1911.

A REVIVAL OF INTEREST. THE GERMANIA THEATER. THE DIRECTORSHIP OF HEINEMANN AND WELB.

TABLE A IV.

Abbreviations: A—the German stage under the directorship of Sarner and Riotte 1890-1891; B—under Sarner 1891-1892; C—the Germania Theater under Waldemar and Buechel 1892-1893; D—the Germania under Wurster 1893-1896; E—the stage under Stolte 1896-1898; F—the Germania under Mme. Frandsch 1899-1900; G—the directorship of Heinemann and Welb 1898-1911. T—total number of plays staged during the period 1891-1911; Av—average percentage for all plays recorded for this period.

	A	B	C	D
Trauerspiel	1:01—	1:03—	13:11—	10:04—
Schauspiel, Drama	19:24—	0: 0	34:28+	67:24+
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	9:11+	5:14—	9:07—	42:15+
Lustspiel	24:30	8:22+	40:33+	65:23+
Posse, Schwank, etc.	13:16+	22:61+	24:20—	91:33—
Singspiel, etc.	3:04—	0: 0	0: 0	0: 0
Operette	11:14—	0: 0	1:01—	3:01+
Total	80:	36:	121:	278:

	E	F	G	T Av
Trauerspiel	4:06—	1:01—	18:03+	48:04—
Schauspiel, Drama	6:08—	10:18—	129:22+	265:22—
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	19:27—	13:23+	104:18—	201:16+
Lustspiel	16:23—	11:20—	147:25+	311:25+
Posse, Schwank, etc.	17:24—	20:36—	164:29—	351:29—
Singspiel, etc.	0: 0	0: 0	3:01—	6:01—
Operette	9:13—	1:01—	18:03+	43:04—
Total	71:	56:	583:	1225:

TABLE B IV.

(Abbreviations as in Table A IV.)

GOETHE: Egmont C1, Faust C2, D1. SCHILLER: Die Braut von Messina C1, G1, Don Carlos C1, G1, Fiesco C1, G1, Jungfrau von Orleans C1, D1, G1, Kabale und Liebe A1, C1, D1, G3, Maria Stuart C1, D1, F1, G4, Piccolomini C1, Die Räuber A1, C1, D1, G3, Wallensteins Lager C1, Wallensteins Tod D1, G1, Wilhelm Tell A4, D1, G4. LESSING: Emilie Galotti C1, D1, G1, Minna von Barnhelm C1, D1, G2. SHAKESPEARE: Hamlet D1, G1, Kaufmann von Venedig D1, Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor G1, Othello B1, C1, D1, E4, G1, Richard III D1, Romeo und Julie C1, Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung C1, D2, G1, Ein Wintermärchen C2. ANZENGRUBER: Heimgefunden (Weihnachtsstück) G3, Meineidbauer D1, G1, Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld E1, G2, Das vierte Gebot G1. BJOERNSEN: Ein Fallissement G2. FREYTAG: Graf Waldemar G1, Die Journalisten A2. FULDA: Jugendfreunde G2, Die Sklavin D1, F1, Der Talisman G2, Unter vier Augen D1, Das verlorene Paradies D5, G3, Die wilde Jagd D1, F1, G2. GEIBEL: Meister Andrea G1. GUTZKOW: Das Urbild der Tartüffe G2, Uriel Acosta C1, D1, G2, Zopf und Schwerdt D1. GRILLPARZER: Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen D1. HAUPTMANN: Der Biberpelz G1, College Crampton D1, Die Weber G1. HEBBEL: Maria Magdalena G1. IBSEN: Gespenster A1, G1, Ein Puppenheim E1, Stützen der Gesellschaft C1, G1. KLEIST: Das Käthchen von Heilbronn C1, G2. LAUBE: Böse Zungen D1, Graf Essex C1, D1, G1, Die Karlsschüler A1, D1, E1, G2. RAIMUND: Der Verschwender C1, E1, G3. SUDERMANN: Die Ehre A3, C2, G5, Es lebe das Leben G2, Das Glück im Winkel G2, Die Heimat C2, D2, G4, Johannisfeuer G4, Die Schmetterlingsschlacht D1, G1, Sodoms Ende D2, F1, G1, Stein und Steinen G1. WILBRANDT: Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius D2, F1. WILDE: Salome G1. WILDENBRUCH: Die Haubenlerche C1, G2, Der Menonit D1, Die Quitzows C1, Die Rabensteinerin G1, Vater und Sohn, oder Aus Deutschlands schwerer Zeit (Vaterländisches Schauspiel) G1.

V. 1911-1914.

THE PRESENT DIRECTORSHIP. THE VICTORIA THEATER.

TABLE A V.*

Trauerspiel	3:03—
Schauspiel, Drama	17:17—
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	16:16—
Lustspiel	19:19—
Posse, Schwank, etc.	27:26+
Singspiel	1:01—
Operette	19:19
Total	102:

TABLE B V.

GOETHE: Faust 1, Iphigenie 1. SCHILLER: Maria Stuart 1, Wilhelm Tell 1. IBSEN: Der Volksfeind 1. SCHOENHERR: Glaube und Heimat 1. SUDERMANN: Die Heimat 1, Der gute Ruf 1.

*These tables do not include plays given under the auspices of the "Kunstbienen."

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